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ADELPHOTES:

A Tribute to OMELJAN PRITSAK by his Students

Edited by
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with the assistance of
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In the biographical sketch published ten years ago in *Eucharisterion*, it was said of Omeljan Pritsak: "to those who know him best, there is no doubt that teaching is his most satisfying accomplishment. His first goal has been to produce new generations of dedicated scholars, through rigorous training and the transmission of his own enthusiasm in the pursuit of intellectual inquiry." Therefore, as his seventieth birthday approached, it seemed fitting that his students should join together to pay tribute to their mentor. *Adelphotes*, a "brotherhood" or "fellowship" of those brought together through the dedication of Omeljan Pritsak, is the product of this desire to express our gratitude.

The decade between *Eucharisterion* and *Adelphotes* witnessed an intensification of Omeljan Pritsak's activities in fostering Ukrainian studies, though some would believe that this could hardly be possible. The journal that he founded, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, dealt with ever new topics and drew into its fold ever new contributors as it grew from four to fourteen volumes. Under his leadership the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute sponsored numerous research projects (including the first scholarly study of the famine of 1932/33), conferences, symposia, and the weekly seminar series that constantly expanded the frontiers of scholarship. A major endeavor, and the culmination of his tenure as director of the Ukrainian Research Institute, was the launching of the Harvard Millennium Project to mark the thousandth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity to Rus'-Ukraine. Like all projects of Omeljan Pritsak's vision, this was a program worthy of a national academy of sciences rather than one usually undertaken by a single institute. An international congress held in Ravenna in 1988 presented the fruits of the latest research in all aspects of Ukrainian church history and religious culture; the papers were published as volume 12/13 of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. The centerpiece of the project, however, is the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. This ongoing monumental effort has as its goal the publication of the entire literary legacy of the Ukrainian nation from its beginnings through the eighteenth century in three parallel series: original texts in facsimile, and translations into English and modern Ukrainian. The enthusiastic support of the Ukrainian community, and the large grant for the English translation series from the National Endowment for the Humanities, constitute but the most tangible acknowledgment of the Millennium Project's significance. Throughout this entire period, Omeljan Pritsak continued, with his typical intensity, his own research, writing, and involvement with fundraising on behalf of Ukrainian scholarship. It is fitting, therefore, that this celebration of Omeljan Pritsak's career should focus specifically on Ukrainian studies and appear as a volume of his beloved journal.

Teaching, of course, continued to be central in Omeljan Pritsak's scholarly life. Since his appointment as the Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi Professor of Ukrainian History in 1975, Omeljan Pritsak offered courses that spanned such topics as "Kievan Rus' and its Western Successors" through "Economic and Social History of the Ukraine" to "The Ukrainian SSR, 1917–1972"—a reflection of his broad range of interests

and enormous erudition. Most importantly, he taught and assisted many graduate students, leaving his indelible imprint on a new generation of scholars. The decade 1979 to 1989, in particular, saw many of the students he had nurtured assuming academic positions in the field. Thus, as well as a testimonial to Omeljan Pritsak's contribution to Ukrainian scholarship, *Adelphotes* is intended to be a tribute by his students to their mentor. Invited to contribute to this volume, therefore, have been those who completed their doctorates at Harvard and who studied Ukrainian history, literature, and linguistics. In a few cases, this category was expanded to include holders of doctorates from other institutions who had come to work closely with Professor Pritsak on their dissertations, or who, in one instance, had studied with him as an undergraduate.

When his colleagues, students, and friends gathered at the Harvard Faculty Club on 7 April 1989 to celebrate his seventieth birthday and to present him with a mock-up of this Festschrift volume, some may have wondered how retirement and the character of Omeljan Pritsak could be reconciled. The answer was, however, already apparent. Without slackening his involvement in Harvard activities, Omeljan Pritsak had also turned his attention to the renewal of scholarship in his native Ukraine. The first scholar from abroad to be named member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences since the 1930s, Omeljan Pritsak began to take an active role in the work of the Archaeographic Commission (later Institute) in Kiev and in numerous projects to publish the sources so long inaccessible to scholars. Appointed director of the Academy's newly established Institute of Oriental Studies in 1991, Omeljan Pritsak is fulfilling his dream of combining Ukrainian and Oriental studies that he envisaged fifty years ago in his native Ukraine. That he will do so in Kiev, the city where his beloved mentor Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi worked, must provide particular satisfaction.

We, the students of Omeljan Pritsak, have chosen a title for this tribute to our teacher that signifies our fellowship with him and with each other. We have also recalled the city of Lviv, where the original *Adelphotes* appeared in 1591, and which formed him as a university student in another era of Ukrainian cultural revival. Wherever we carry on our scholarly vocation, we bear with us the imprint we received at Harvard from our teacher from Ukraine.

Frank E. Sysyn
Lubomyr A. Hajda

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I wish to thank my fellow editors of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Ihor Ševčenko and George G. Grabowicz, for their assistance in this project. Special thanks are due to Kathryn Dodgson Taylor, managing editor of *HUS*, and to her predecessor Uliana Pasicznyk, who served as editorial associate, for their careful editing of the manuscripts.

I wish also to express my thanks to Brenda Sens who, as department administrator, helped in organizing the Festschrift festivities. I am profoundly grateful to Olga Mayo, business manager of the journal, who so magnificently planned the Festschrift dinner. I also appreciate the participation of my fellow speakers at the banquet, Ihor Ševčenko, George G. Grabowicz, Richard N. Frye, and Şinasi Tekin.

Finally, I thank the contributors, who so enthusiastically participated in this undertaking.

Frank E. Sysyn

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Medved' iz berlogi: Vladimir Jabotinsky and the Ukrainian Question, 1904–1914

OLGA ANDRIEWSKY

Between 1905 and 1917, during the so-called Constitutional Era, the Ukrainian question emerged as one of the most fiercely debated public issues in the Russian Empire. What had been for all practical purposes a "nonexistent question" since 1876, when government restrictions effectively shut down all public Ukrainian cultural activity, became an increasingly crucial concern for Russians and Ukrainians alike after October 1905, when the new constitutional order removed the constraints that had hampered the development of the Ukrainian movement. Indeed, of the many "nationalities problems" facing the Russian political leadership between 1905 and 1917, none proved inherently more problematic than the issue of Ukrainian cultural and political rights, and certainly none proved explicitly more difficult after the abdication of the tsar in 1917. It was the Ukrainian question—and, specifically, Ukrainian demands for political autonomy—that precipitated the first major crisis of authority within the liberal Provisional Government, a crisis which the government never fully resolved and from which it never fully recovered.

One of the first political thinkers of the Constitutional Era to recognize the pivotal significance of the Ukrainian question for the future of the Russian Empire as a whole was the young Jewish publicist Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky (1880–1940).[1] In Jewish history, Jabotinsky is primarily known as a committed Zionist whose name would later come to be associated with Zionist Revisionism and the most militant strand of Jewish nationalism. In the development of Russian-Ukrainian relations, Jabotinsky played an

[1] In Jewish history, Jabotinsky is best known as the founder of the Jewish Legion during the First World War, the leader of the World Union of Zionist Revisionists, and the head of the Betar movement. Jabotinsky was, however, a man of extremely wide interests and diverse talents, a man who, in the words of one Jewish historian, "projected a variety of images, and who in the course of his life appealed to various publics" (Yaacov Shavit, *Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement, 1925–1948* [London, 1988], p. 110). He was at different times intellectual, activist, orator, writer, poet, and soldier, often playing several roles at once.

The most authoritative and complete biography of Jabotinsky remains the two-volume work by Joseph B. Schechtman, *The Life and Times of Vladimir Jabotinsky* (Silver Spring, Md., 1986).

important part by raising the Ukrainian issue in the Russian press as early as 1904, in an article entitled "K voprosu o natsionalizme" (Concerning the question of nationalism) in the St. Petersburg journal *Obrazovanie*.[2] Over the course of the next ten years, until he left Russia more or less permanently in 1914, Jabotinsky published some twenty additional articles touching on the Ukrainian problem, becoming, in effect, one of the most outspoken advocates of the Ukrainian national movement in the Russian Empire.[3] Through the sheer force and clarity of his ideas, Jabotinsky ultimately succeeded in accomplishing what the Ukrainian intelligentsia had themselves been trying to do for many years—compel the progressive Russian intelligentsia to confront the Ukrainian question. Indeed, his writings helped spark a serious national debate over the meaning and implications of the Ukrainian movement in Russia, a dispute that was to last well into the Russian Revolution.

Jabotinsky came to champion the Ukrainian movement because of his own Odessa experience. Born and raised in a Jewish family in the most cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic of cities in the Russian Empire, he remained a lifelong patriot of "Babylon," of this "tornado of a place," where life, in his own words, was "like Italian minestrone soup—overspiced and too thick."[4] It was here, in the "heart of the universe," that Jabotinsky developed his cultural and political sensibilities, where he learned to prize diversity and individuality, where he became a Zionist and crusader against assimiliation—and where he had the opportunity to observe first-hand the differences between Russians and Ukrainians. "Even if it was a city in Russia and in my time very Russified in language, Odessa was not really a Russian city," he recalled many years later. "Nor was it a Jewish city, though Jews were probably the largest ethnic community, particularly when one takes into account that half of the so-called Russians were actually Ukraini-

[2] V. Zhabotinskii [Jabotinsky], "K voprosu o natsionalizme. (Otvet g. Izgoevu)," *Obrazovanie*, 10 October 1904. This essay was recently translated into Ukrainian and republished as "Do pytannia pro natsionalizm. (Vidpovid' p. Izgoevu)," in V. Zhabotyns'kyi [Jabotinsky], *Vybrani statti z natsional'noho pytannia*, ed. Israel Kleiner (New York, 1983).

[3] Eight of Jabotinsky's articles on the Ukrainian question from this period were collected, translated into Ukrainian, and republished by Israel Kleiner in *Vybrani statti*.

[4] Jabotinsky described his Odessa experience most fully in *Piatero* (The five), a novel that was first serialized in the Paris weekly *Razsvet* in 1933 and published in book form three years later. Joseph B. Schechtman, *The Life and Times of Vladimir Jabotinsky*, vol. 1: *Rebel and Statesman* (Silver Spring, Md., 1986), pp. 68–69.

ans, a people just as different from the Russians as Americans from Britons, or Englishmen from Irishmen."[5]

By the age of twenty-four, Jabotinsky had elevated this cultural appreciation to the level of "ideology," a broadly romantic nationalism reminiscent of such nineteenth-century thinkers as Guiseppe Mazzini and Guiseppe Garibaldi, both of whom the young Jewish writer passionately admired.[6] (In 1898, as a young correspondent for *Odesskii listok*, Jabotinsky had been sent to Bern and then Rome, where he had learned Italian—even trying his hand at Italian poetry—and studied Italian history, especially the period of unification.[7]) For him, as for these European intellectuals of an earlier generation, issues of liberalism, nationalism, and progress were all inextricably intertwined. Advancement, both in nature and in human societies, he argued in his early writings, was reflected in diversity, in the coexistence of a rich variety of life forms.

> Progress [in nature] is the evolution from shapeless uniformity to formed diversity.... We consider that country where there is the greatest diversity in the animal and plant kingdom to be the most beautiful and fortunate. We prize that orchestra with the greatest diversity of instruments, that palette which is richest in colors and shades. In everything and everywhere, we instinctively and consciously rejoice in the diversity of sights and aspects and are saddened by the extinction of even one....[8]

Likewise, progress in human affairs, Jabotinsky believed, meant a mutual celebration of the diverse qualities that contributed to the unique make-up of the human family. His ideal remained "an ideal of unity, mutual protection, and common security... a wonderful human garden, where the most diverse cultural flowers peacefully bloom alongside one another, each one unique, competing with one another in beauty and fragrance, not with fists and whips."[9] Only through mutual respect, the complete recognition of the

[5] Vladimir Jabotinsky, "Memoirs by My Typewriter," in Lucy Dawidowicz, *The Golden Tradition: Jewish Life and Thought in Eastern Europe* (New York, 1967), p. 398. Originally published as "Zikhroynes fun mayn ben-dor," *Der Morgen Journal* (New York), 4 December 1932; 15 January 1933; 5 February 1933; 19 March 1933. In contrast to his deep attachment to the city of Odessa, Jabotinsky apparently had little affection for Russia. "I have been indifferent to Russia even in my youth; I remember that I was always happily tense when leaving for abroad, and was reluctant to return." But his love for Odessa, as he wrote in 1933, "is not over, and will never be over." Quoted in Schechtman, *Rebel and Statesman*, p. 68.

[6] See, for example, his essay "Mrakobes," in *Fel'etony* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 177–85.

[7] According to Schechtman, his biographer and friend, Jabotinsky regarded Garibaldi as his personal hero because he combined an "ardent, fanatic nationalism with the broad-mindedness of a citizen of the world." Schechtman, *Rebel and Statesman*, p. 53.

[8] Zhabotyns'kyi, "Do pytannia pro natsionalizm," pp. 37–38.

[9] V. Zhabotyns'kyi, "Fal'shuvannia shkoly," in *Vybrani statti*, p. 51; originally published as V. Zhabotinskii, "Fal'sifikatsiia shkoly," *Odesskie novosti*, 23 October 1910.

individual rights of each nation, he stressed, could there be peace and harmony.

Indeed, Jabotinsky at first saw the Ukrainian problem as a kind of "ecological" issue, a matter of preserving one of the endangered "cultural flowers" of the "human garden." After a trip to central Ukraine in 1904, for example, Jabotinsky, who had shared his third-class car with Ukrainian peasants, lamented the corruption of the Ukrainian language that the "shameful" policy of Russification had ushered in. "Even though I myself am not a Little Russian or a Slav, I have the urge to shout to the entire Slavic world: 'Why are you allowing [the Little Russian language to die]?' There is a mischief [being perpetrated] right in front of your very eyes, a loss to Slavic well-being." Every nation and nationality has "the right to remain what it is," he emphasized, "and to be called publicly by its national name."[10]

Jabotinsky soon altered his gloomy prediction regarding the future of Ukrainian culture, however. As an active Zionist, he had, from the start, taken a lively interest in the fate of the Jewish people throughout Eastern Europe but especially in Eastern Galicia, one of the strongholds of the Zionist movement.[11] In 1907–1908, he spent a "sabbatical" year in Vienna, devoting his attention, as he put it, to "the full mastery of the factual picture of national relations and conflicts in Austria and Hungary," that is, to reading the abundant theoretical literature on the nationalities problem and meeting the leaders of the various national movements of the Habsburg Empire.[12] In the process, he gained a fresh understanding of nationalism as a historical force in Central and Eastern Europe—and a heightened appreciation of the dynamism of the Ukrainian movement. Above all, it was the example of Galicia that persuaded Jabotinsky that the Ukrainian renaissance was an "indisputable fact." "The independent development of Ukrainian culture is an indisputable fact—and an official one only two steps

[10] Zhabotyns'kyi, "Do pytannia pro natsionalizm," pp. 38–39.

[11] See, for example, V. Z[habotinskii], "Non multum, sed multa," *Ukrainskii vestnik*, no. 9 (16 July 1906), pp. 645–50. According to the 1900 census, there were 811,371 Jews in Galicia as a whole (11 percent of the population), of whom approximately 600,000 lived in Eastern Galicia. For a discussion of the Zionist movement in Eastern Galicia at this time, see Leila P. Everett, "The Rise of Jewish National Politics in Galicia, 1905-1907," in *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*, ed. Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 149–77.

[12] While in Vienna, Jabotinsky learned Croatian and Czech and immersed himself in the works of Rudolf Springer, Ludwig Gumplowicz, Georg Jellinek, Pasquale S. Mancini, Aurel Popovici, and others. This work eventually helped him earn his law degree in Russia. In 1912, he completed a thesis on "State and Nation," a study of the legal aspects of national autonomy. Parts of this work were ultimately published in *Vestnik Evropy*. Schechtman, *Rebel and Statesman*, pp. 133–36.

from here, in Galicia," he subsequently argued in the Odessa press. "Literature, the theater, and the press aside, instruction in elementary schools and several gymnasiums there is conducted in this language—despite all the restrictions and limitations imposed by the Polish nobility who rule the land. At Lviv University, several courses are taught in this language, and now the question of establishing a special Ruthenian university is being discussed. Finally, the courts and the bureaucracy are obliged to conduct hearings in this language in Eastern Galicia." The implications of this for Russia, as far as Jabotinsky was concerned, were clear. "Russia cannot impede all of this, and therefore the question of whether the Ukrainian language 'can' or 'should' create a separate culture is superfluous."[13]

Jabotinsky also returned to Russia certain that the time had come for Jewish and Ukrainian leaders to enter into closer alliance. In 1905, Dr. Iulian Romanchuk, the leader of the Ukrainian National Democratic party in Galicia and head of the Ukrainian caucus in the Reichsrat, had spoken out in favor of Jewish extra-territorial autonomy in the Austrian Parliament, the first speaker, Jewish or non-Jewish, to do so. Jabotinsky, like many Jewish leaders, had been deeply impressed by this event.[14] Not long afterward, the Odessa publicist endorsed Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation in Austria, during the election campaigns in Eastern Galicia. In 1907, when he himself ran (unsuccessfully) in the elections to the Second Duma in Rivne, Jabotinsky had the support of Ukrainian leaders.[15] Now, in 1908, convinced of the long-term viability of the Ukrainian movement, he sought to expand this partnership in the Russian Empire, to create a working relationship that would endure beyond the temporary expediency of electoral coalitions.[16]

13 Zhabotyns'kyi, "Fal'shuvannia shkoly," pp. 48–49. See also his "Nauka z Shevchenkovoho iuvileiu," in *Vybrani statti*, pp. 71–79; originally published as V. Zhabotinskii, "Urok iubileia Shevchenko," *Odesskie novosti*, 27 February 1911; and *Rada*, 25 February 1908.

14 See Zhabotinskii, "Non multum, sed multa," pp. 645–50; also Everett, "Jewish National Politics in Galicia," pp. 162–66.

15 Schechtman, *Rebel and Statesman*, pp. 120–21, 400. Jabotinsky won the first round of elections, and hoped to form an alliance with the Ukrainian peasant deputies against the Polish and Russian landlords in the second round. It immediately became apparent that this would be impossible, however, when all sixty-nine peasant deputies arrived at the provincial electoral college wearing Union of Russian People badges.

16 Jabotinsky publicly endorsed this alliance in *Golos*, no. 6 (1908) and *Rada*, on its part, actively promoted Jabotinsky's initiative from this moment on. See, for example, A. V-ko [Andrii Nikovs'kyi], "Nepevnist'," *Rada*, 25 February 1908; *Rada*, 12 September 1908; and especially D. Doroshenko, "Ievrei na Ukraini," *Rada*, 24 September 1908; and S. Iefremov, *Ievreis'ka sprava na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1909).

There was, it must be noted, some opposition to this alliance among the Ukrainian intelligentsia. In the fall of 1908, *Ridnyi krai*, edited at that time by Olena Pchilka, published an article by Pylyp Nemolovs'kyi that sharply criticized *Rada* for its philo-Semitism "Chym nam

As Jabotinsky realized, there were many reasons to promote such an alliance. The aims of the two national movements were the same in certain respects—the preservation and development of their respective national cultures, the further democratization of the political structure, and, ultimately, the introduction of some sort of system of self-rule.[17] (For leaders of both movements, Austria-Hungary, in many ways, served as a model of a *Nationalitätenstaat* or "multinational state" to which they both aspired.) Moreover, Jews and Ukrainians had numerous common foes as well—the Kiev Club of Russian Nationalists, the Polish National Democrats, and the Union of Russian People, for example. But, above all, Jabotinsky had come to believe, the fate of all the non-Russian nations, and the Jewish nation in particular, rested with the ability of the Ukrainians to resist assimilation.

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korystni zhydy?" (Of what use are the Jews to us?). In response, a group of Ukrainian students in Kiev—many of whom, like Stepan Manzhula and Mykola Riabovol, were themselves to become leaders during the Revolution—wrote and published a letter of protest in *Rada*, 12 December 1908. "We, the Ukrainian students of the Kiev Polytechnic Institute, regarding as our first duty to preserve the purity of the demands of the Ukrainian people... are painfully offended by the thoughtless opinions regarding the Jewish question that *Ridnyi krai* has ascribed to the Ukrainian intelligentsia.... We protest against this violation of the universal-human ideals of fraternity and publicly announce that, from this day forward, we will have nothing to do with that newspaper....," *Rada*, 12 December 1908. See also, "Ievreiske pytannia i ukrains'ka presa," in the same issue.

Jabotinsky followed this polemic in the Ukrainian press closely. As we shall see, his greatest fear was that the Jewish population of Ukraine would be Russified and that tensions between Ukrainians and Jews would therefore escalate. As he wrote in 1910, in a clear reference to the *Ridnyi krai* controversy: "The Ukrainian press is, in general, progressive and democratic, but as soon as the subject of the Jewish intelligentsia as an instrument of Russification comes up, this press loses its self-control and literally begins to sound anti-Semitic notes." Zhabotyns'kyi, "Fal'shuvannia shkoly," p. 53.

Rada and the Society of Ukrainian Progressives (Tovarystvo ukrains'kykh postupovtsiv, or TUP), however, never wavered from their original course. In fact, the alliance with Jabotinsky continued to grow stronger and became especially close throughout the Struve controversy. On 11 January 1911, for example, Jabotinsky met with TUP leaders in Kiev for the express purpose of coordinating activities. As Chykalenko noted in his diary, "Jabotinsky is promising that the Zionist press... will support the idea that Jews ought to pay attention to Ukrainians and the Ukrainian movement and not be Russifiers, because the Ukrainian movement has a future and someday the time will come when Jews will regret their alliance with the Russifiers." Ievhen Chykalenko, *Shchodennyk, 1907–1917* (Lviv, 1931) pp. 185–86. See also V. Andrievs'kyi, *Try hromady: Spohady z 1885–1917 rr.* (Lviv, 1938), p. 93. As Jabotinsky's subsequent articles in defense of the Ukrainian movement demonstrate, he did fulfill his promise. For a fuller discussion of Ukrainian-Jewish relations, see Yury Boshyk, "Between Socialism and Nationalism: Jewish-Ukrainian Political Relations in Imperial Russia, 1900-1917," in *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton, 1988), pp. 173–202.

17 Jabotinsky was instrumental in the formulation of the 1906 Helsingfors Program of Zionism, which endorsed a program of political and educational activities in Russia in addition to the long-term goal of Jewish settlement in Palestine.

"The resolution of the debate concerning the national character of Russia depends almost entirely on the position that the thirty-million-strong Ukrainian people will assume," he determined. "If they allow themselves to be Russified—Russia will go one way, if they refuse—it will have to go another."[18]

Jabotinsky, it should be emphasized, had no illusions about the state of Jewish-Ukrainian relations on the popular level. After all, this was a man who, throughout his life, stood at the forefront of Jewish self-defense efforts. Indeed, he often wrote and spoke about the mutual mistrust and antipathy that existed between Ukrainians and Jews, both in Austria and Russia. "I am not an optimist and I don't believe in 'love' among nations," he asserted in *Ukrainskii vestnik*. "And I do not in any way deceive myself (regarding the fact) that between Jews and Ukrainians in Galicia there exists a definite antagonism, which at times takes on uncivilized forms." Nonetheless, these ethnic tensions were, in large part, exacerbated by the existing political and social structures. Once the structures themselves were changed, Jabotinsky concluded, the level of hostilities would be reduced as well. As he confidently predicted in 1906, "I am certain that with education this barbarousness will disappear. . . ."[19]

Most of all, Jabotinsky had faith in the fundamentally democratic nature of the Ukrainian movement. Unlike the Russian intelligentsia, who all too often forgot that the empire was inhabited by a majority of non-Russians, the Ukrainian intelligentsia, he believed, were fighting for their national rights and, by extension, for the political transformation of the Russian Empire as a whole. And in so doing, Jabotinsky, the consummate liberal-nationalist, was convinced that they were advancing the larger causes of freedom and justice. In one of his many articles in defense of the Ukrainian movement, he described the connection between nationalism and democracy in Russia in the following way:

> We, non-Russians (*inorodtsy*), foresee only one of two possibilities: either there will never be freedom and justice in Russia, or else each of us will consciously exercise this freedom and justice, first of all, for the development of our own unique national

[18] This view was articulated most forcefully in V. Zhabotyns'kyi, "Pro movy ta inshe," in *Vybrani statti*, p. 62; originally published as V. Zhabotinskii, "O iazykakh i prochem," *Odesskie novosti*, 25 January 1911. The kernel of this idea, however, can be found in his earlier works as well. See his "Non multum, sed multa"; "Fal'shuvannia shkoly"; "Homo homini lupus," in *Fel'etony*; "Ne veriu," in *Fel'etony*; Nikovs'kyi, "Nepevnist'"; and Chykalenko, *Shchodennyk*, pp. 185–86.

[19] Zhabotinskii, "Non multum, sed multa," p. 648. Twenty years later, he continued to express similar views. See, for example, his "'Kryms'ka' kolonizatsiia," in *Vybrani statti*, pp. 112–19, originally published in Yiddish as "Di 'Krim' kolonizatsie," *Der Morgen Journal*, 4 July 1926.

identity and for [our own] emancipation from foreign culture. Either Russia will go the way of national decentralization, or else every one of the foundations of democracy, starting with universal voting rights, will be unthinkable. For Russia, progress and the *Nationalitätenstaat* [multinational state] are synonymous, and every effort to disregard this fact, to introduce order against the will and consciousness of 60 percent of the population, will end in failure. . . .[20]

Years later, after the Revolution and the bloody pogroms of 1918–1920, Jabotinsky continued to defend the integrity of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and his association with them. In his own words, men like Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, Andrii Nikovs'kyi, and Maksym Slavins'kyi were "honest democrats."[21] And, though he had not known either Symon Petliura or Volodymyr Vynnychenko, the leaders of the Ukrainian government under whom many of the anti-Jewish pogroms occurred, Jabotinsky was never persuaded that they themselves were "pogromists." "I know this type of Ukrainian intelligent-nationalist with socialist views well," he wrote in 1926. "I grew up with them, and together with them conducted the struggle against the anti-Semites and Russifiers—Jewish and Ukrainian. Neither I nor any other thinking Zionists of southern Russia can be convinced that people of this type are anti-Semites."[22] After years of mutual cooperation with the Ukrainian intelligentsia, Jabotinsky had developed a lasting regard for the men with whom he had tried to remake Russia.

His opinion of the Russian intelligentsia, on the other hand, differed considerably. Indeed, in 1909, Jabotinsky had shocked Russian educated society—and greatly impressed the Ukrainian intelligentsia—with a series of essays in which he assailed the hypocritical attitude of the progressive Russian intelligentsia toward the Jews.[23] Published in the St. Petersburg Zionist weekly *Razsvet*, and the Russian liberal nationalist daily *Slovo*, the four essays, perhaps Jabotinsky's most compelling work, were inspired by a remark made at a St. Petersburg gathering of writers and literary critics by the Russian novelist Evgenii Chirikov. Following a private reading of a Russian translation of Sholem Asch's play *Yikhus* (Blue blood), Chirikov expressed the view that the Jewish contribution to Russian literature could only be negligible because Jews were incapable of fully comprehending the

[20] Vl. Zhabotinskii, "Evreistvo i ego nastroeniia," *Russkaia mysl'*, no. 1 (1911), p. 114.

[21] Schechtman, *Rebel and Statesman*, p. 401.

[22] V. Zhabotyns'kyi, "'Kryms'ka' kolonizatsiia," pp. 112–13. The article was first published in Yiddish, only a few days after the assassination of Petliura (see fn. 19); a Ukrainian translation appeared six months later in the Paris journal *Tryzub* (16 January 1927).

[23] The articles appeared in *Razsvet* and *Slovo* in March and April 1909 and were republished in *Fel'etony* under the heading "Chetyre stat'i o 'Chirikovskom intsidente'" (Four articles on the Chirikov incident). The series consists of "Dezertiry i khoziaeva," "Asemitizm," "Medved' iz berlogi," and "Russkaia laska."

Russian experience. A heated discussion ensued, in which the Jewish writers present at the gathering disputed Chirikov's point, emphasizing their own attachment to Russian culture.[24] The Chirikov incident, as it came to be known, then quickly made its way into the Russian and Jewish press, where it attracted Jabotinsky's attention.[25]

In a powerful response entitled "Dezertiry i khoziaeva" (Deserters and masters), Jabotinsky predicted that the progressive Russian press would attempt to ignore the entire incident, while various individuals within the Jewish community would try to minimize the meaning of the Chirikov affair. As Jabotinsky saw it, however, Chirikov's views were not exceptional. Rather, they were quite representative of the collective mentality of the Russian intelligentsia and, moreover, a portent of things to come. "Under cover of these reassuring protestations, quietly and unobserved the wheels will turn: all the fields of intellectual life, presently 'filled' with Jews, will quietly rid themselves of this obliging and cheap, but unpopular, element." The progressive Russian intelligentsia were not yet, strictly speaking, anti-Semitic. They were simply beginning to feel the desire "to be among themselves without the ubiquitous Jewish observer who, having acclimatized himself a little, feels too much at home, meddles in everything, and everywhere gives his opinion." As a life-long enemy of Jewish assimilation, Jabotinsky nonetheless could not muster much sympathy for the "Jewish intellectual proletariat" working in the service of Russian culture. "We, who have always demanded the concentration of [Jewish] national resources, and insisted that every drop of Jewish sweat fall on the *Jewish* cornfield—we can only observe the evolution of this conflict between our deserters and their masters from the sidelines, as onlookers, in the best case with indifference, in the worst, with a bitter smile.... For what interest does the Jewish nation have in individuals who took great pride in the fact that they had, with few exceptions, renounced their people?"[26]

Jabotinsky's main target, however, was unquestionably the Russian intelligentsia. In his next three essays, the focus of his attack shifted exclusively to this group, and especially to the Russian liberals associated with such periodicals as *Rech'*, *Russkie vedomosti*, and *Nasha gazeta*, where, as Jabotinsky put it, "the hush-up is considered the height of fashion for progressive Judeophiles." "As has happened before in these circles. . . there is much discussion about [the Chirikov incident], but [these]

[24] V. Zhabotinskii, "Asemitizm," in *Fel'etony*, p. 112; Schechtman, *Rebel and Statesman*, pp. 142–43.

[25] The Chirikov incident was first reported in *Nasha gazeta*, 8 March 1909.

[26] V. Zhabotinskii, "Dezertiry i khoziaeva," in *Fel'etony*, pp. 108–10.

newspapers remain silent and, undoubtedly, they think that this is very effective and meaningful." Yet, at a time when Russia was being flooded with the anti-Semitic literature of the radical Russian right-wing, a time when what was needed most was an open and systematic campaign against this trend, the silence of the progressive Russian press had an entirely different meaning. It was, in his view, an expression of "asemitism"—not an outright hostility, but rather a desire to avoid the Jews and the Jewish question altogether. "Even the efforts of Jewish contributors have not helped: I know from bitter experience that the most fervent attempt to raise a voice in defense of our nationality breaks down elusively and intangibly behind closed doors at the boldest and most militant periodicals." As Jabotinsky concluded, "The Jews have been turned into a kind of forbidden taboo. . . one forms the impression that the very word 'Jew' is an unprintable term that should be uttered even more rarely."[27]

For those Russian liberals who claimed that now was not the time to raise such issues, that it was first necessary to concentrate on all-Russian tasks before "luring the bear out of the lair," Jabotinsky had a characteristically strong reply:

> We are perfectly aware that it would be much more convenient for you to preserve [this state of] blissful ignorance until that day when the issues of state will be resolved—because then you are not obligated in any way and can retain the complete loyalty and efficiency of the faithful Israel to your tasks. . . . But for us?. . . Will it be convenient for us if, having been misled by this dream, we trustfully disarm, let down our moral defenses, hock and rehock our values in your pawnshops—and *then*, one beautiful day, you will tell us with deep regret that you have not guarded the bear and that he has escaped his lair?

Jabotinsky clearly thought not. "No, dear gentlemen, you should bring out into the open—not *then*, but *now*—everything that you [hide] in your soul," he urged.[28] To do otherwise, Jabotinsky believed, would merely prolong a system of exploitation.

Jabotinsky nonetheless held out little hope that the Russian intelligentsia would rise to his challenge. Progressive Russians were, in his words, simply not interested in problems of nation and nationalism, "in the same way as a healthy man is not interested in his health, especially when he has lots of other troubles, his house is unheated, and the sky is crying through his roof." Peter Struve's attempts to promote a Russian liberal nationalism notwithstanding, Russian nationalism, Jabotinsky observed, had "nowhere to go, except perhaps along the path of the Black Hundreds."

27 Zhabotinskii, "Asemitizm," pp. 111–16.
28 V. Zhabotinskii, "Medved' iz berlogi," in *Fel'etony*, pp. 117–22.

> Russian nationalism has nothing to fight for—no one has captured the Russian field, and, *on the contrary:* Russian culture, unconsciously relying on public coercion, has occupied foreign fields and imbibes their material and moral essences. There is, as yet, no context for the development of this embryo [of Russian nationalism]—and there will be none until a serious national movement arises among the nationalities of Russia and the struggle against Russification expresses itself not in words, as it does now, but [rather] in the actual break with Great Russian culture. Then we will see who our mighty neighbors are and whether there is a national current. . . .[29]

Until that time, he implied, the Russian intelligentsia would have no real regard for the nationalities question.

Jabotinsky's scathing indictment of the Russian intelligentsia, published as it was in *Slovo*, excited an immediate and passionate response in intellectual circles throughout the empire. In the words of Joseph Schechtman, Jabotinsky's biographer, fellow Zionist, and life-long friend, these four essays, with their penetrating analysis of Jewish interests, had an "almost revolutionary impact on Jewish intellectual circles."[30] The reaction in Ukrainian circles was vivid as well. The leaders of the Society of Ukrainian Progressives (Tovarystvo ukrains'kykh postupovtsiv, or TUP), who were themselves engaged in an ongoing struggle against the Russian intelligentsia's "conspiracy of silence," welcomed the Jewish publicist's frankness enthusiastically. Among other things, Jabotinsky's timely remarks underscored their own growing conviction that the Russian intelligentsia simply did not treat the nationalities problem seriously. As *Rada*, the leading Ukrainian-language daily, noted: "It can only be hoped that this polemic concerning the nationalities question that is currently being conducted with such emotion on the pages of the Russian progressive press, will enlighten [Russians] about the true state of affairs and will help the progressive elements of all nations to reach an understanding more quickly, so that [our] common forces can better fight for universal human ideals."[31]

Russian liberal leaders, on their part, responded to Jabotinsky's attack by attempting to deflect some of the accusations against them. Indeed, within a few weeks of the publication of "Dezertiry i khoziaeva," an impressive array of Russian political commentators—Miliukov, Vinaver, Poroshin, and Struve, to name only a few—had joined the debate.[32] In an article in the March 11 issue of *Rech'*, for example, Paul Miliukov bravely conceded Jabotinsky's point: "Mr. Jabotinsky can celebrate—he has lured the bear

[29] Vl. Zhabotinskii, "Nabroski bez zaglaviia," *Razsvet*, nos. 13-14 (1909); V. Zhabotinskii, "Russkaia laska," in *Fel'etony*, pp. 123–30.

[30] Schechtman, *Rebel and Statesman*, p. 143.

[31] *Rada*, 29 March 1909; also, *Rada*, 15 April 1909.

[32] Jabotinsky's articles were the subject of lively discussion throughout the empire. See, for example, *Kievskie vesti*, 16 April 1909.

out of his lair. . . the silence has ended, and that horrible and menacing [truth] that the progressive press and intelligentsia have tried to shield from the Jews has finally appeared in full form." Nonetheless, the unspeakable truth that had been uttered by Chirikov, he believed, was not a portent of the future so much as a remnant of the past, of the pre-constitutional era. "I am convinced that naive 'asemitism' and 'anti-Semitism'. . . is only one of the last remnants of our intelligentsia's blissful innocence."

Similarly, Peter Struve, writing in *Slovo*, tried to explain the Chirikov incident by drawing a more "complex" picture of Russian attitudes toward the Jews. In two extremely provocative articles—"Intelligentsia i natsional'noe litso" (The intelligentsia and national face) and "Polemicheskie zigzagi i nesvoevremennaia pravda" (Polemical zig-zags and the untimely truth)—which inadvertently appeared to justify Chirikov's remarks and caused as much public furor as did those by Jabotinsky, he insisted that Russians had a right to a *national* culture apart from imperial culture, the right to a "national face," as he called it. As an outspoken champion of equal rights, Struve, at the same time, welcomed Jewish participation in Russian national culture and favored Jewish assimilation as a solution to the Jewish question. In fact, the problem, as he saw it, lay with those Jews who asserted their own "Jewishness."

> The Russian intelligentsia always considered the Jews to be their own, [to be] Russian. . . . The conscious initiative for the rejection of Russian culture belongs not to the Russian intelligentsia but to the Jewish movement known as Zionism. Even if we say that it is created by the juridical conditions of the Jews in Russia, it is still a fact. I do not sympathize with Zionism at all, but I realize that the problem of "Jewish" nationality exists and that, unfortunately, it is at present a growing problem.[33]

The true "national face" of Russia was neither falsely philo-Semitic, nor anti-Semitic. It *was* "asemitic," meaning, in Struve's view, that it displayed a healthy disregard for the ethnic origins of those who contributed to the vitality of Russian national culture. "I think that it would be useful for Jews to see the full national face (*otkrytoe natsional'noe litso*) of that part of Russian society—constitutionally and democratically disposed—that has such a face and values it," the ideologue of Russian liberal nationalism concluded. "And, on the contrary, it is not useful for [Jews] to give in to the illusion that [it is represented] only by anti-Semitic fanaticism."[34]

[33] P. Struve, "Intelligentsia i natsional'noe litso," *Slovo*, 10 March 1909; reprinted in *Po vekham* (Moscow, 1909) pp. 32–36, and *Collected Works*, vol. 8, ed. Richard Pipes (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1970).

[34] P. Struve, "Polemicheskie zigzagi i nesvoevremennaia pravda," *Slovo*, 12 March 1909; also *Po vekham*, pp. 42–46, and *Collected Works*, vol. 8.

In this way, one by one, the leading lights of the Russian liberal intelligentsia rose to defend their honor. Even the editors of *Rada* were surprised by the strength of the Russian reaction. Noting the previous absence of any such serious discussion of the nationalities question in progressive Russian periodicals, the Ukrainian paper concluded that "the number of newspaper articles on the nationalities question that have recently appeared in the Russian press in such a short time and their sharp, polemical nature [all] bear witness to the fact that this question touches a very raw nerve."[35] Jabotinsky had indeed finally managed to lure the Russian bear out of his lair.

The repercussions of the Chirikov incident continued to reverberate in Russian and non-Russian circles for many months. Undoubtedly, as *Rada* pointed out, one of the most important consequences of this affair, and particularly Jabotinsky's biting attack on the Russian intelligentsia, was a heightened awareness of the nationalities question and the depths of the passion it could arouse. Indeed, not long after the immediate controversy had begun to die down, Peter Struve, one of the few Russian intellectuals who *had* shown a genuine interest in problems of nation and nationalism before the Chirikov incident and, one suspects, the man responsible for the publication of Jabotinsky's essays in *Slovo*, decided that the various aspects of the nationalities issue required much further elucidation. As the editor of the prestigious *Russkaia mysl'*, he conceived the idea of introducing a special series of articles on the nationalities problem in Russia entitled "Pis'ma o natsional'nostiakh i oblastiakh" (Letters about nationalities and regions). Intended to encourage debate and offer Russian readers a wide variety of views, the series, as Struve announced, would concentrate on examining the issue "from inside," that is, from the perspective of the representatives of various nationalities and regions.[36] (The editors of *Russkaia mysl'*, in turn, would then comment "from their point of view.") Thus, with this format in mind, Struve approached Jabotinsky sometime in 1910 with the idea of writing an article about the Jewish national movement in Russia.

Jabotinsky's article, published in the January 1911 issue of *Russkaia mysl'*, became the first in the proposed series. Entitled "Evreistvo i ego nastroeniia" (The Jews and their attitudes), it was, for the most part, a survey of Jewish political life in the Constitutional Era. Over the course of nearly twenty pages, Jabotinsky described the various political organizations and trends at work within the Jewish community since 1905 and their relationship to the Jewish population at large. It was, in many ways, a remarkably

35 *Rada*, 29 March 1909.

36 Petr Struve, "Na raznyia temy," *Russkaia mysl'*, no. 1, January 1911, p. 184.

stark and candid picture. As Jabotinsky explained, the average Jew was very much interested in political issues but continued to regard the political programs, ideals, and theories advanced by the Jewish parties with great skepticism. "In the depths of his soul, he thinks that every one of the candidates is right—and that, taken together, they are all dreamers." The problem, as the Zionist intellectual saw it, was the enormous separation between abstract theory and life, the relative absence of practical national-cultural activity. Even the Zionists, he admitted, had reduced their activity almost exclusively to the task of collecting money. "At present," Jabotinsky observed, "all the parties go their own way, and the life of Russian Jews goes another."[37]

But the future of Jewry in Russia, Jabotinsky declared, depends, in the long run, less on the development of the internal resources of the Jewish community—though, unquestionably, these were important—than it does on the evolution of the Russian state. Reiterating a theme that he had already raised in his articles in *Odesskie novosti*, Jabotinsky asserted that

> the question of whether the Jews of Russia are destined to assimilate or to develop as a separate nationality depends, in large part, on the general question: which path will Russia follow?—[will it become] a nation-state or a "multinational state"? In a unilingual state, a minority, and particularly one which is scattered [across the country], inevitably assimilates sooner or later. The fate [of this minority] is altogether different in a state where many nationalities, and many languages develop freely.

Unquestionably, as an ardent Jewish nationalist, Jabotinsky preferred the latter alternative. In fact, he very much believed that this was precisely the direction in which Russia was headed. Contrary to Struve's vision of a great Russian nation-state, Russians, he reminded the readers of *Russkaia mysl'*, constituted only 43 percent of the empire's population. "That is significant, but not enough for the remaining non-Russians (*inorodtsy*) to agree to become an unpaid appendix to the Great Russian nationality." Expressing his profound respect for Russian culture, Jabotinsky nonetheless insisted that the "natural patrimony of this culture are the boundaries of ethnographic Russia, and if this is not so today, then the reason for this is, mainly, centuries-long coercion and lawlessness." For Russia, he stressed, "progress and the *Nationalitätenstaat* are synonymous, and every effort to disregard this truth, to introduce a state order against the will and consciousness of sixty percent of the population will end in failure. . . ."[38]

37 Zhabotinskii, "Evreistvo i ego nastroeniia," pp. 95–114.
38 Zhabotinskii, "Evreistvo i ego nastroeniia," pp. 112–14.

Under these circumstances, Jabotinsky believed, it was crucial for Jews not to allow themselves to become an instrument of Russification. Most Jews in the Russian Empire, he pointed out, live among "the Little Russians, Belorussians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Moldavians—and least of all do they come into contact with Great Russians themselves." In the Pale of Settlement, Russians had a weak numerical presence and it was only by virtue of "government coercion" that they prevailed. For Jews to become virtually the sole bearers of Russian culture in this environment, Jabotinsky argued, would be "an act of defiance against the local population" and "a provocation to anti-Semitism." "The moment these nationalities achieve the ability to influence regional affairs, it will be necessary (for us), and even for convinced Jewish assimilators—if there will be any left—to beat a retreat and—if not out of an immediate conviction, then by a process of elimination—arrive at the only logical solution, the separation of the Jews into a distinct cultural entity. If the remaining nationalities of Russia pursue this path, the Jews will be pulled into this general course as well."[39] In the interests of self-preservation, the Jews of the Russian Empire, Jabotinsky clearly implied, must throw in their political lot with the non-Russian nations.

Struve, as one might expect, took immediate exception to Jabotinsky's provocative analysis. In the very same issue of *Russkaia mysl'*, he provided a short but sober reply. In order to be able to answer the question "Which path will Russia follow?" Struve believed it was first necessary to determine what Russia is. And here, the chief ideologue of Russian liberal nationalism strenuously objected to the way in which Jabotinsky defined the Russian nation and Russian culture. The Russian nation cannot be defined in purely ethnographic terms, he argued; Russian culture was not simply "Great Russian"; it was something much, much more.

By using the terms "Great Russian," "Little Russian," and "Belorussian" in an equivalent manner, [Jabotinsky] forgets that the term "Russian" also exists, and that "Russian" is not some kind of abstract mean of these three "terms" (with the prefixes "great," "little," and "belo" attached) but rather a living cultural force, an evolving and growing national current, nation-in-the making (as the Americans call themselves).[40]

In this respect, Russian culture was unique in Russia. Unlike "Little Russian" or "Belorussian" culture, it was the culture of the state and history, as well as literature, scholarship, and art. Russian culture, in other words, served as the common medium of *high* culture throughout the empire.

39 Zhabotinskii, "Evreistvo i ego nastroeniia," pp. 112–13.
40 Struve, "Na raznyia temy," pp. 184–87.

(Finland and Poland were the sole exceptions.[41]) It was a *national* culture embracing Russians and non-Russians alike.

The attempt to raise "Little Russian" culture to parallel status, Struve asserted, would be an unnecessary drain of energies and resources. "I am deeply convinced," Struve declared, "that the creation of Little Russian-language secondary and higher schools would be an artificial and unjustified waste of psychic powers on the part of the population." Those psychic powers, he thought, could be more productively channeled toward the advancement of "culture in general," rather than in a duplication of existing achievements. Even more importantly, however, the creation of a parallel "Little Russian" culture would have shattering implications for the unity of the Russian nation. As Struve warned, "It is not simply a matter of 'elementary education in local languages.' Before us, we see a vast, truly titanic, scheme for the complete bifurcation or trifurcation of Russian culture—from the alphabet to 'general pathology' and 'crystallography,' from the folk song to the translation of Ovid, Goethe, Verlaine, or Verhaeren."[42]

Indeed, in Struve's view, "Little Russian" culture "did not yet exist"; it was still waiting to be created. "A man who wants to be a cultured man in Kiev and Mahilioŭ, and does not participate in 'Russian' culture, must, in addition to being a 'Little Russian' or a 'Belorussian,' be a German, or a Frenchman, or an Englishman as well. And the reason for this is because he, as a cultured man, cannot be sustained simply by 'Little Russian' or 'Belorussian' culture." A "Little Russian" who did not know the Russian language was, in his own words, "simply illiterate in the national and civic sense." "Little Russian" culture, Struve suggested, had not yet begun to develop a full range of human expressions, values, and forms. And, for this reason, the Jews of the Pale of Settlement who chose to assimilate always assimilated to "Great Russian," that is, Russian culture.

For Struve, the hegemony of Russian culture was not an arbitrary phenomenon. Rather, it was a reflection of its deep spiritual vitality, the work of historical destiny.

> The Russian nation alone has been prepared for the political as well as cultural hegemony of Russia by the course of history. It is no accident, nor is it the result of some kind of "coercion," that secondary school and university instruction in Kiev is conducted in the so-called "Great Russian" language. In the sphere of university

[41] Struve always regarded Finland and Poland as exceptions in a political and cultural sense, and he consistently supported the idea of self-rule for both. See Richard Pipes, *Struve: Liberal on the Right, 1905–1944* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), p. 210.

[42] Struve, "Na raznyia temy."

culture, that language is a natural and necessary medium for creativity and the exchange of ideas for all the Russian tribes which make up the single nation. Russian culture enjoys hegemony among the non-Russian tribes of Russia not only by virtue of the physical superiority and numerical predominance of the Russians. That hegemony is hers by virtue of her internal strength and wealth.

In Russia, in short, there was really only *one* national culture in the full sense of the word, and that was Russian culture. (According to the census of 1897, Struve gently reminded his readers in a footnote, the "Russian tribes"—Great Russians, Little Russians, and Belorussians—constituted more than 65 percent of the population of Russia.) Under these circumstances, he was convinced, Russia could not be anything *but* a Russian nation-state.[43]

Thus ended round one of what was certainly the most stimulating—and eloquent—theoretical debates on the nationalities question in Russia during the Constitutional Era.[44] For the very first time, two well-respected "opposition" thinkers, both members of the so-called progressive intelligentsia, had squarely taken on the problem of national identity in a multinational empire. Moreover, they had treated it as an urgent political issue, not just as a subsidiary of "greater" all-Russian concerns. As their discussion made clear, the problem of national identity and the way in which it was resolved was central to the architecture of a future Russia, to the question of whether Russia would evolve into a Russian nation-state or go the way of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. And, at the very heart of this debate concerning the future of Russia, as both Struve and Jabotinsky recognized, was the Ukrainian problem.

Would Russia become a *Nationstaat* or a *Nationalitätenstaat*? By virtue of their numbers alone, the Ukrainians, representing thirty million people and 17 percent of the population, had the capacity to dictate the answer. If, for example, the "Little Russians" cast their lot with the Russian nation, as Struve believed they already had, then the Russians would enjoy a clear majority within the Russian Empire (65 percent of the population, including

43 Struve, "Na raznyia temy." For a fuller discussion of Struve's views on the Ukrainian question, see Pipes, *Struve: Liberal on the Right*, pp. 210–19; also published as Richard Pipes, "Peter Struve and Ukrainian Nationalism," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979-1980), pt. 2:675–83.

44 The "second round" was sparked by Bohdan Kistiakovs'kyi's fifteen-page-long reply to Struve in the May 1911 issue of *Russkaia mysl'* (Ukrainets, "K voprosu o samostoitel'noi ukrainskoi kul'ture. Pisma v redaktsiiu," pp. 131–46). Struve, on his part, responded in the January 1912 issue with a twenty-one-page-long assault on the Ukrainian national movement entitled "Obshcherusskaia kul'tura i ukrainskii partikuliarism," in which he called on Russian educated society to enter into "ideological battle with the Ukrainian movement." This, in turn, set off another round of articles and heated debates.

the Belorussians). If, on the other hand, the Ukrainians (and Belorussians) chose to assert a separate identity, then the Russian share dropped to 43 percent, a minority within their own state. As Jabotinsky later summarized, "the resolution of the debate concerning the national character of Russia depends almost entirely on the position that the thirty-million-strong Ukrainian nation takes."[45]

The Jabotinsky-Struve exchange marked a watershed in the evolution of the debate over the Ukrainian question in Russia. Above all, it underscored how intimately the Ukrainian question was bound up with larger issues of Russian ethnicity, cultural self-perception, and historical and political imagination. Henceforth every serious Russian political thinker—nationalist, liberal, and socialist alike—would have to contend with the Ukrainian "problem." Indeed, Lenin's own interest in the Ukrainian question and the nationalities question as a whole—in 1913, he would issue his famous "Theses on the Nationalities Question" (*Tezisy po natsional'nomu voprosu*)—was certainly piqued by this debate.[46]

[45] Jabotinsky's reply to Struve was published as "O iazykakh i prochem," in *Odesskie novosti*, 25 January 1911; republished in *Fel'etony*, pp. 156–66, and as "Pro movy ta inshe," in *Vybrani statti*, pp. 61–70

[46] In 1912 and 1913, while in Cracow, Lenin concentrated on the nationalities question for virtually the first time in his life. "Never before or after did he devote himself so wholeheartedly to this question as during this period," observed Jurij Borys in his study of the evolution of Bolshevik policy on the nationalities question in the pre-Revolutionary era (see chapter 1 of his *The Sovietization of Ukraine 1917–1923* [Edmonton, 1980]). Borys argues that this newfound interest in the nationalities question was probably inspired by the liberal program of the Austrian Social Democrats, which endorsed the idea of personal cultural autonomy, as well as the Menshevik position, adopted in August 1912, which supported the notion of national cultural autonomy.

Lenin's own notebooks from this period reveal, however, that the first readings he did on the subject were largely related to the Ukrainian question in Russia, including Struve's reply to Jabotinsky as well as Struve's subsequent elaboration and reply to Bohdan Kistiakovs'kyi, "Obshcherusskaia kul'tura i ukrainskii partikuliarizm," published in *Russkaia mysl'*, no. 1 (1912). (Lenin always followed the work of his intellectual rival with great interest.) See *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. 30, ed. V. V. Adoratskii, V. M. Molotov, M. A. Savel'ev, and V. G. Sorin (Moscow, 1937), pp. 10–26. The notebooks also reveal how surprisingly little Lenin actually seems to have known about the Ukrainian problem before this time—he took extensive notes on S. N. Shchegolev's *Ukrainskoe dvizhenie, kak sovremennyi etap iuzhno-russkogo separatizma*, a detailed Russian nationalist attack on the Ukrainian movement published in Kiev in 1912. Tellingly, Lenin remarked on the value of Shchegolev's book as "a systematic survey of the history and contemporary state of the Ukrainian movement," making special note of the prohibitions against Ukrainian cultural activity introduced by the Russian government in the second half of the nineteenth century. His notes suggest that he had not really been aware of these restrictions until this time.

On his part, Jabotinsky remained firmly convinced that history was on the side of those who asserted a separate Ukrainian identity. The hegemony of Russian culture in Ukraine (and in the borderlands in general), he continued to emphasize, was largely an artificial development, sustained by a myriad of coercive measures. "Why ignore history and pretend that everything happened without the fist, as though the success of the Russian language in the borderlands somehow proves the inner weaknesses of the non-Russian cultures?," Jabotinsky declared in his reply to Struve. "This success proves nothing but an old truth, that a reinforced heel can stomp even the most vigorous flower into the ground."[47] But ultimately the deciding issue for Jabotinsky was the fact that the Ukrainian intelligentsia *did not* consider themselves to be Russian. Every national movement, he reminded his readers, begins with the intelligentsia. "The issue is not whether the masses participate in the active forms of the movement: the issue is whether the intelligentsia correctly represents the interests and aspirations of those masses."[48] The Ukrainian intelligentsia, he believed, did speak for those interests and aspirations.

Jabotinsky continued to defend the Ukrainian national movement until 1914, when he left for Western Europe as a roving war correspondent for the liberal daily *Russkiia vedomosti*. And though his departure effectively ended the most active phase of his involvement with the Ukrainian cause, Jabotinsky remained, in his own words, "a friend of the Ukrainian movement" for the rest of his life—a stance that, particularly after the pogroms of 1918–1920, would put him at odds with many of his colleagues in the Zionist movement.[49]

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47 Zhabotinskii, "Pro movy ta inshe," pp. 68–69.

48 V. Zhabotins'kyi, "Struve i ukrains'ke pytannia," in *Vybrani statti*, p. 97; originally published as "Struve i ukrainskii vopros," in *Odesskie novosti*, 2 March 1912.

49 One of the most controversial episodes of Jabotinsky's life involved an agreement he made in 1921 with Petliura's government-in-exile, through his old friend Maksym Slavins'kyi, to establish a Jewish gendarmerie attached to Petliura's army. At the time, the Ukrainian army, still mobilized in Eastern Galicia, was expecting to launch an offensive against the Bolsheviks in the spring of 1922, with the support of the Western Powers. Fearing renewed attacks on the Jewish population as the Ukrainian army crossed the border, Slavins'kyi persuaded Jabotinsky to take on the task of organizing a Jewish police force, commanded by Jews, to protect the towns that fell under Ukrainian rule. Eventually, the Western Powers dropped their support for the offensive and the entire plan was shelved.

Nonetheless, Jabotinsky was widely criticized within the Jewish community for agreeing to this "pact with the devil"—among other things, there was considerable apprehension concerning possible anti-Jewish reprisals in Bolshevik Russia in the event that this scheme failed—and the controversy continued to haunt him for the rest of his life. Not long before his death, Jabotinsky declared, "When I die you can write as my epitaph 'This was the man who made the pact with Petliura.'" Schechtman, *Rebel and Statesman*, pp. 399–415; I. Kleiner, "Volodymyr (Zeev) Zhabotyns'kyi," in *Vybrani statti*, pp. 17–22.

Sisters, Wives, and Grandmothers: Stress Patterns in Ukrainian[1]

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Abstract

Some Ukrainian *a*-stem substantives display an accentual alternation of stem stress throughout the sg and desinential stress throughout the pl (e.g., **чáшка, чашкú**). Scholars have previously traced the beginning of this innovation to the development of final stress in the Gpl (**чашóк**), which is attributed to the analogical influence of substantives like **сестрá, землíá** (Gpl **сестéр, земéль**). This paper argues that the inherent accentual properties of certain roots and of the suffix *–ъk–(a)* were such that surface stress on the last syllable of the Gpl for some substantives with this suffix (e.g., **жінóк**, ***головóк**) is etymologically motivated, rather than being the result of external analogical influence.

Introduction

Nonderived *a*-stem substantives in Contemporary Standard Ukrainian (CSU)[2] display the following accentual patterns:[3]

1. root stress[4] (**берéза**)
2. root stress in the singular and desinential stress in the plural (**бáба**, pl **бабú**)
3. desinential stress (**айвá**)
4. mobile stress[5] in both the singular and the plural (**ногá, нóгу**, pl **нóги, ногáм**)

[1] I am grateful to Ronald F. Feldstein, Michael Flier, Steven Franks, Morris Halle, David K. Hart, Iaroslav Isaievych, Roman Koropeckyj, Horace G. Lunt, Janis Melvold, Joseph Schallert, and Bohdan Struminsky for comments.

[2] Following the classification in Skljarenko 1969: 22–23, which is based on Pohribnyj 1964. As Skljarenko acknowledges, this taxonomy is somewhat simplified, particularly in the treatment of accentual variants.

[3] I omit the vocative and the counted forms, on which see Stankiewicz 1977/1986 and Stankiewicz 1983/1986.

[4] Unless otherwise indicated, I use the terms "root stress" and "stem stress" to designate stress that is fixed on the same syllable of the root or stem in all inflected forms under consideration. Stress on a monosyllabic stem should more properly be identified as initial stress, stem stress, or predesinential stress, depending on the accentuation of other forms of the paradigm (see fns. 6, 7, 9 below). Although there are good reasons for distinguishing these situations, the present list retains Skljarenko's terminology, which combines all these possibilities into a single category of "root stress."

[5] The accentual pattern for mobile stress within the sg and pl subparadigms of *a*-stem substantives is limited. With very few exceptions, mobile stress in the sg of these substantives means initial stress in the A and desinential stress elsewhere. Mobile stress in the pl means

5. mobile stress in the singular and root stress[6] in the plural (***бородá***, ***бóроду***, pl ***бóроди***, ***бóродам***)
6. desinential stress in the singular and mobile stress in the plural (***бровá***, pl ***брóви***, ***бровáм***)
7. desinential stress in the singular and root stress[7] in the plural (***бджолá***, pl ***бджóли***, ***бджóлам***)

All but one of these patterns are also attested in Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR),[8] and the inventories of substantives belonging to the similar patterns in the two languages often overlap.[9] One interesting point of

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initial stress in the NA and desinential stress elsewhere. The reason that these particular patterns occur is discussed below.

6 Skljarenko's identifying the pl stress pattern of ***бóроди***, ***борíд***, ***бóродам***, ***бóродами***, ***бóродах*** as "root stress" is misleading. Although surface stress in all pl forms of these substantives is located on the root, the place of stress within the pl subparadigm is not fixed. This unique situation is discussed below.

7 Skljarenko's identification of the pl stress pattern of these substantives as "root stress" is misleading, since stress almost always falls on the last syllable of polysyllabic stems (with a few exceptions and some variation in the Gpl with a mobile vowel; see the examples at Skljarenko 1969: 44ff and the discussion of ***сестрá*** below) and may more properly be considered predesinential. See also fn. 9 below.

8 See, e.g., Hingley 1952, Kiparsky 1962: 189–237, Zaliznjak 1967: 164–66, Red'kin 1971: 29–38, and Fedjanina 1982: 81–102.

9 These seven CSU patterns reflect three Common Slavic (CmSl) accentual paradigms (ap), traditionally called *a*, *b*, and *c* (or barytone, oxytone, and mobile, respectively), on which see Stang 1957/1965. The basic correspondences are

- CmSl *a* (stem stress)
  - CSU 1
  - CSU 2 (with advance of stress in the pl)
- CmSl *b* (desinential stress)
  - CSU 3
  - CSU 7 (with retraction of stress in the pl; that stress in the pl is retracted one syllable from earlier desinential stress explains why what Skljarenko calls "root stress" in these examples might more accurately be labeled predesinential)
- CmSl *c* (stress alternating between the initial syllable and the desinence in both the sg and pl)
  - CSU 4
  - CSU 5 (with regularization of stress in the pl)
  - CSU 6 (with regularization of stress in the sg)
  - CSU 7 (with regularization of stress in both the sg and the pl)

CmSl mobile stress was *marginal*; while stress in ap *a* could be fixed on any syllable of the stem, ap *c* wordforms with stem stress were always stressed on the initial syllable. (See also fn. 5, above.) There is more at issue than merely the place of stress; initial stress in ap *c* wordforms differed in several respects from stem stress in ap *a*. For example, ap *c* wordforms that normally occurred with initial stress could instead occur with stress on adjacent proclitics and enclitics, or the stress could simply be suppressed in certain combinations of words. These modifications were not found with ap *a* words.

The aps listed above are not linguistic primitives; they are the paradigmatic reflection of the interaction of morphemes, each of which has certain inherent accentual properties according to

comparison is pattern 2, which is unique to Ukrainian and which is the ultimate object of this investigation.[10]

As Skljarenko (1969: 26–27) notes, the number of nonderived substantives that belong to this accentual pattern in CSU is limited: ***ба́ба*** (Gpl ***бабі́в/ ба́б***), ***ви́шня*** (pl ***вишні́, више́нь*** and ***ви́шні, ви́шень***), ***ма́ма*** (pl ***мами́, мамі́в*** and ***ма́ми, ма́м***), ***па́ра***, ***ски́рта*** (pl ***скирти́/ ски́рти, скирта́м/ ски́ртам***), ***ти́ква*** (pl ***тикви́, тико́в*** and ***ти́кви, ти́ков***), ***то́рба***, ***це́рква***, ***ша́бля***. The following lexemes seem to be moving into this pattern: ***кро́ква*** (pl ***кро́кви, кро́ков*** and ***крокви́, кроко́в***), ***пла́хта*** (pl ***пла́хти/ плахти́, плахт, плахо́т/ пла́хіт***), ***ха́та*** (pl ***ха́ти/ хати́, ха́там/ хата́м***).[11] Additionally, the derived lexemes ***пшени́ця***, ***моли́тва*** and a large number[12] of substantives with the suffix *–к(а)* (e.g., ***кни́жка***, pl ***книжки́***)[13] belong to this category.

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specific rules. This interpretation, which has been current in the literature at least since Jakobson 1963/1971: 672, is discussed in greater detail below.

As Dybo (1968, 1979: 12–20, 1979a: 43–48, 1981: 55–196) has demonstrated, the same three basic paradigms characterize both derived and nonderived words in CmSl. The possible loci for stress are the desinence and the stem (which may be morphologically complex, in which case the place of stress within the stem is determined by principles discussed in the works by Dybo cited above). While Skljarenko's discussion of stress in nonderived words speaks of root and desinence, the same patterns can be discerned in derived words, in which case "root" should be replaced by "stem."

[10] Hanusz 1884 concludes (383–84): "Bei den neutralen und weiblichen Substantiven kann der Hochton im Nom. plur. sowohl nach vorwärts, wie auch nach rückwärts geschoben werden. Im Russ. ist bei den neutralen Substantiven diese Verschiebung sehr beschränkt und bei den weiblichen kann der Accent im Russ. nicht nach vorwärts rücken."

[11] There are additional substantives that have fixed stress on the root in CSU but conform to pattern 2 in Ukrainian dialects. See Hanusz 1884: 373 and Skljarenko 1969: 27–28.

[12] "**Значна частина**"(Skljarenko 1969: 124); "fast alle Paroxytona auf ***–ка***" (Hanusz 1884: 373).

[13] Also *–очк(а), –ечк(а), –єчк(а)*. See the lists and discussion in Hanusz 1884: 372–74, Skljarenko 1969: 124–26, Vynnyc'kyj 1984: 31–33, and Vynnyc'kyj 1984a. As is noted in this last work, standard modern lexicographic references often disagree on which substantives display this accentuation and some native speakers offer different stress patterns for some of these substantives. Ustinova (1986: 12) mentions that there are approximately 325 Ukrainian derived and nonderived substantives with this accentual pattern.

Note that the accentual pattern in question occurs with polysyllabic stems irrespective of the place of stress in the sg (the examples are taken from Skljarenko 1969): ***ба́тюшка, кра́пелька, кра́шанка, ла́стівка, ма́тінка, ма́тушка, па́личка, пи́санка, пі́сенька, при́казка, рі́ченька, ска́терка, чи́танка, ша́белька, я́гідка, я́щірка*** vs ***бала́чка, галу́шка, гові́рка, гребі́нка, запи́ска, коло́дка, колю́чка, копи́стка, копи́чка, копі́йка, корі́вка, моги́лка, пелю́стка, пелю́шка, печі́нка, поду́шка, профспі́лка, соро́чка, сторі́нка, тарі́лка, тели́чка, халя́вка, цига́рка***. ***Гре́бе́лька*** and ***по́ми́лка*** have alternative stresses in the sg.; throughout this article multiple stress marks on a word are used to indicate variants. ***Това́ришка*** and ***учи́телька*** have trisyllabic stems.

Dating

It is generally acknowledged that this accentual pattern is a Ukrainian innovation,[14] but its dating and its linguistic nature do not yield easily to interpretation. Concerning the first point, Skljarenko (1969: 126) writes, "Its appearance must be assigned to the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, insofar as substantives of the ***кни́жка*** type with desinential stress in the pl are already encountered in Ukrainian texts between the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries."

This interpretation of the documentary evidence is unacceptable; that forms of these substantives with desinential stress in the pl occurred by the sixteenth century[15] cannot possibly help decide whether these forms arose in the sixteenth, fifteenth, fourteenth, or any earlier century. Unfortunately, as Veselovs'ka (1970: 3) notes, substantial evidence for Ukrainian accentuation is available only since the development of printing in Ukraine at the end of the sixteenth century. Until earlier sources are identified and analyzed, the lack of evidence prior to the end of the sixteenth century makes it possible to conclude only that the accentual pattern under consideration had appeared by that time. There is no justification for assigning an arbitrary earlier date to its first appearance.

Bulaxovs'kyj's and Skljarenko's Interpretations

A proper linguistic description of the development of this accentual pattern has yet to be provided. Bulaxovs'kyj (1928/1977) traces its origin to the influence of *o*–stem substantives like ***дýб*** (pl ***дуби́***)[16] by way of derived substantives like ***бáтько*** (pl ***батьки́***).[17] Skljarenko (1969: 127) rejects this

14 Hanusz 1884: 384–85, Bulaxovs'kyj 1928/1977: 359, Skljarenko 1969: 126. It is shared with some neighboring southwestern Belorussian dialects; see Shevelov 1979: 122.

15 Veselovs'ka (1964: 128 and 1970: 53) also dates their first appearance to the end of this century.

16 Bulaxovs'kyj considered the accentuation of ***дуби́*** the result of a phonologically motivated advance of stress from a nonacute root syllable onto the Apl desinence ***–и*** (<*–***ы***). More recent studies, beginning with Stang 1957/1965: 77–82, suggest that the (N)Apl desinential stress that developed in these CmSl ap *c* substantives is an innovation that should not be considered the result of any phonologically regular advance of stress. The source of forms like ***дуби́*** is not crucial to an investigation of forms like ***баби́*** or ***книжки́***, since ***дуби́*** could serve as a model for subsequent stress shifts elsewhere in the system regardless of its origin.

17 Bulaxovs'kyj suggests that a phonologically regular pattern of root stress in the sg combined with desinential stress in the pl in some *o*–stem substantives first spread to some *a*–stem substantives that originally had fixed root stress. More specifically, substantives like ***дýб*** influenced substantives like ***бáтько***, which influenced substantives like ***чáшка*** or ***кни́жка***. The influence then spread first to other *a*–stem substantives with monosyllabic stems ending in consonant clusters with inserted vowels (like ***пíсня***), then to *a*–stem monosyllabic stems that did not end in consonant clusters (like ***бáба***), then to polysyllabic stems with initial stress in the

analysis, since it fails to explain both why the limited group of substantives like ***ба́тько*** was able to exert such influence on the more numerous substantives in ***–ка*** and why derived substantives like ***ба́тько*** should have been more influential than other, more numerous nonderived masculine substantives.[18]

Bulaxovs'kyj (1928/1977: 359) had rejected Gpl forms like ***чашо́к***, ***книжо́к*** as the source of desinential stress in the NApl,[19] since the identical surface stress in Gpl forms like ***земе́ль***, ***борі́д*** did not lead to the development of NApl ***землі́*, **боро́ди***. But Skljarenko (1969: 128) points out that ***земля́м***, ***земля́ми***, ***земля́х*** and ***борода́м***, ***борода́ми***, ***борода́х*** also did not

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sg (like ***ла́стівка***), where the opposition of initial vs final stress was most clearly felt, and finally to polysyllabic stems with predesinential stress in the sg (like ***сестри́чка***, ***неві́стка***). Although this chain of influences is possible, it is completely speculative.

I use the terms "zero" and "mobile vowel" interchangeably to designate a surface alternation between a vowel *e* or *o* and nothing. In many (but not all) instances, this alternation reflects a CmSl jer that alternated between strong and weak position. Modern synchronic descriptions of vowel alternations in Slavic have variously spoken of vowel/zero alternations, mobile vowels, synchronic jers, special cases of *e* and *o* marked to undergo deletion in certain morphophonemic environments, and vowel epenthesis (under various conditions).

The traditional graphic designations for mobile vowels in linear representations are # or ь/ъ. Although I use jer letters to represent mobile vowels in this study, the specific description and notation is not crucial to my discussion. What is important is that I assume mobile vowels are present in underlying synchronic representations and may be inherently stressed. I also assume that when inherently stressed underlying mobile vowels do not appear in surface forms, stress automatically appears on the syllable immediately to the left. An autosegmental (nonlinear) interpretation, according to which stress is not merely another distinctive feature, offers a natural explanation for why stress is not simply deleted as a consequence of the deletion of an inherently stressed mobile vowel. However, the shift of stress to the left, in the case of Slavic, is language-specific and must be indicated in the grammar. See, e.g., Halle and Vergnaud 1987: 28–30.

I have marked reconstructions and nonoccurring forms with an asterisk, while underlying phonemic representations are enclosed between solidi. A jer letter in the latter cases represents a synchronic mobile vowel and need not necessarily continue an etymological jer. Morphophonemic representations are enclosed between curly braces.

Skljarenko uses the term "monosyllabic stem with an inserted vowel" to designate stems that have a single regular vowel plus a stem-final zero (or mobile vowel) that surfaces only before another zero (usually in a suffix or desinence) (e.g., ***чашк–***). I have followed Skljarenko's usage, but it should be noted that it is somewhat imprecise, since the zero in these stems is potentially syllabic (***чашо́к***) and I would represent the stem in CSU as /*čašъk–*/ (< {*čaš–ъk–*}). I have used ***ча́шка*** in place of the traditional representative of this paradigm in the literature, ***кни́жка***, since the latter continues a polysyllabic CmSl root **kъnig–*. Other derivatives from monosyllabic ap *a* roots include ***ба́бка***, ***ба́нька***, ***гру́шка***, ***ді́вка***, ***ни́вка***, and ***я́мка***. (See Zaliznjak 1985: 132 for the CmSl accentual properties of the roots and Skljarenko 1969: 124–25 for the membership of the CSU derivatives in the accentual class under consideration. On the modern accentuation of ***ба́бка*** see also fn. 64, below.)

18 Skljarenko 1968 is virtually identical to this portion of Skljarenko 1969.

19 However, he acknowledges (p. 360, fn. 2) that such Gpl forms might have arisen earlier than desinential stress in the rest of the pl by analogy to ***сесте́р*** and ***земе́ль***.

lead to a change in the NApl forms of these substantives. He attributes the tenacity of NApl **зе́млі** to a general tendency to distinguish the otherwise homophonic Gsg and NApl forms by stress.[20]

Skljarenko's explanation for why substantives like **земля́** were not subject to restructuring of the pl under the influence of **земе́ль** removes Bulaxovs'kyj's objection and allows Skljarenko to locate the motivation for forms like **чашки́, книжки́** in the Gpl **чашо́к, книжо́к**.[21] His explanation is that in some a-stem lexemes, the Gpl stood apart from all other cases in having final stress on a mobile vowel: **зе́млі: земе́ль; ві́вці: ове́ць**.[22] This peculiarity then spread analogically to the Gpl of substantives like **ча́шка, кни́жка** and thence to the entire pl subparadigm of these substantives. According to this theory, although Gpl **земе́ль, ове́ць, сесте́р, голі́в**, and **борі́д** provided the original impetus for the shift in substantives like **ча́шка, кни́жка**, the oxytone Gsg forms **землі́, вівці́, сестри́, голови́, бороди́** prevented the development of oxytone NApl forms of these substantives. There was no such obstruction to the further development of **ча́шка, кни́жка**, since the Gsg (and the entire sg subparadigm) of these substantives was barytone.

[20] Skljarenko offers no special comment on **борода́**; the Gsg **бороди́** could have impeded the development of a new NApl ***бороди́** (i.e., desinential stress throughout the pl), but there would have been no such pressure against a new NApl ***боро́ди**.

Bulaxovs'kyj (1928/1977: 360) had made virtually the same observation about the importance of maintaining a distinction between the Gsg and the NApl, which he used as an explanation for why the analogical influence of the o-stem substantives mentioned above was stronger in barytone a-stem substantives (like **ча́шка, кни́жка**) than in a-stem substantives where the Gsg had desinential stress (like **земля́**, Gsg **землі́**). Skljarenko demonstrates that Bulaxovs'kyj's reasoning is confused, since the identical argument could explain why the influence of Gpl a-stem forms like **земе́ль** did not produce NApl ***землі́**. That is, the accentuation of Gsg **землі́** could operate against any analogical pressure in favor of a new NApl ***землі́**, irrespective of whether that pressure came from o-stem substantives like **дуби́** or from the Gpl **земе́ль**. This means that such an argument cannot be used to support one of these two theories against the other.

[21] Stankiewicz (1983/1986: 166) makes the interesting observation that the Gpl counted forms of these substantives retain the original stem stress (e.g., **ші́сть кни́жок**), but he offers no details about the distribution of this phenomenon within substantives of this general accentual type. One consultant, a philologist from the western Ukraine, found **ші́сть кни́жок** very unusual and insisted that ***ші́сть жі́нок** was absolutely impossible. There is very little published information on the use of a special accentuation in the counted Gpl of individual lexemes and the relationship between such forms and the varied accentual histories of the lexemes under consideration should be investigated further.

[22] This affects both mobile vowels that reflect original jers (e.g., **ове́ць** < CmSl **ovьcь*) and those that are secondary developments (e.g., **земе́ль** < CmSl **zemĺь*). Skljarenko does not comment specially on words like **го́лови: голі́в, бо́роди: борі́д**, where no mobile vowel of any sort is involved.

сестра́ and земля́

Before proceeding to a discussion of substantives like **ча́шка**, **кни́жка**, it is necessary to examine the alleged sources for analogical development, **сесте́р** and **земе́ль**, since these substantives developed from two separate CmSl accentual classes[23] and should not be considered equivalent models. Nonderived CmSl ap *b* substantives originally[24] had stress on the desinence in all forms, while ap *c* substantives had initial stress in the direct cases of the pl and desinential stress in the oblique cases. This can be illustrated by comparing the reconstructed CmSl pl accentuation of **sestra* (ap *b*)[25] and **golva* (ap *c*):[26]

	(ap *b*)	(ap *c*)
N	*sestrý́	*gólvy
A	*sestrý́	*gólvy
G	*sestrъ́	*golvъ́
D	*sestrámъ	*golvámъ[27]
L	*sestráxъ	*golváxъ
I	*sestrámi	*golvámi

When the final jer of the Gpl forms became unstressable, the ictus was shifted one syllable to the left.[28] This yielded surface stress on the second vowel of pleophonic forms (e.g., CSU *голі́в*).[29] If we assume that the

[23] The early accentual properties of many substantives are unclear and it is possible that there were CmSl accentual variants for some lexemes. For example, Zaliznjak (1985) identifies **ovьca* as either ap *b* or *c* (pp. 135, 138) and **zemĺa* as ap *c* with traces of ap *b* (p. 138). Skljarenko (1969) identifies both **ovьca* and **zemĺa* as ap *c* (pp. 46, 38). Illič-Svityč (1963) identifies **ovьca* as ap *c* with ap *b* forms in some dialects (pp. 99) and **zemĺa* as ap *b*, replacing an earlier ap *c* (pp. 107–108). Despite different opinions on specific etymologies, the scholars cited here all subscribe to the theory that CmSl included three aps, which were determined by the accentual properties of individual morphemes.

[24] At a still earlier stage these substantives would have had fixed stress on the root, on which see the discussion of Dybo's Law below.

[25] For evidence in support of this reconstruction, see Illič-Svityč 1963: 148–49, Skljarenko 1969: 52, and Zaliznjak 1985: 135. Concerning Skljarenko's different reconstruction of the accentuation of the NApl, see fn. 73, below.

[26] For evidence in support of this reconstruction, see Illič-Svityč 1963: 151, Skljarenko 1969: 35, and Zaliznjak 1985: 138.

[27] CmSl stress on the *–a–* in the DLIpl forms of *a*–stem ap *c* substantives reflects an earlier retraction from the final syllable. See Dybo 1981: 30–39, 239.

[28] As mentioned in fn. 17, above, this stress retraction is an automatic consequence of the unstressability of the weak jer; it does not affect the phonemic site of stress, which remains the desinence.

[29] This does not necessarily mean that the shift of stress occurred after the development of pleophony. The relative chronology of the stress shift and the development of pleophony, as well as the significance of the change of *o* to *i*, is not crucial for the present study. These problems are discussed in Garde 1974: 112–15.

original jer of the Gpl desinence was continued as an inherently stressed zero, ***сестéр*** (with a secondary mobile vowel) and ***голíв*** are regular.[30]

The stress retraction that arose in ***сестéр*** for phonological reasons could have been reinterpreted as inherent predesinential stress, which could then become characteristic of the entire pl subparadigm of these substantives.[31] Under this interpretation, the pl stress pattern of ***сéстри, сестéр, сéстрам***, etc., does not display any alternation: stress is fixed on the predesinential syllable. Since the mobile vowel in the Gpl of ***сестрá*** is an innovation, Skljarenko (1969: 75) is in a sense correct in referring to the stress of ***сестéр*** as innovative. However, this form can also be considered an accentual archaism, since it preserves the earlier predesinential stress that arose when the final jer became unstressable. In other words, counting from the left, the position of stress differs in older ****сéстръ*** and later ***сестéр***, but counting from the right, the location of surface stress remains constant: it is predesinential. From this perspective, there is no need to attribute the stress

[30] Although the final jer may have become phonetically unstressable prior to the emergence of the secondary mobile vowel, phonemic stress could have continued to fall on the desinence, whereupon it would have been subject to automatic retraction.

[31] See Lunt 1963: 96–97, which is partially based on some ideas first expressed by Kuryłowicz (the Gpl of *zemljá* on p. 97 of this article should be corrected to *zemél'*).

This reinterpretation would have been facilitated by a general tendency to strengthen or establish a stress opposition between sg and pl, on which see Stankiewicz 1962/1986: 123 and Zaliznjak 1985: 373. See also, however, Ustinova 1986: 6–8, which emphasizes an important difference between the loss of mobility within the sg or pl subparadigm (which she calls **некатегориально распределенное подвижное ударение**) and the oft-noted tendency to extend the use of a stress opposition between sg and pl (**категориально распределенное подвижное ударение**). The loss of mobility within the sg or pl subparadigm, which may produce a sg/pl opposition, is an overwhelming tendency throughout Russian and Ukrainian declension. According to Ustinova, the strongest motivation is the regularization of the subparadigm, not the development of an opposition by number; the shift of substantives with fixed stress, either on the stem or on the desinence, to a stress opposition by number is limited in both languages. While the limitation does not make this tendency as trivial as Ustinova seems to suggest, the distinction, which went virtually unnoticed before Ustinova, is nonetheless extremely important.

One possible generative description of this development is that the morphophonemic representation of the pl was reinterpreted as */sestЪ́r–/*, with stress fixed on the zero or mobile vowel of the stem and with a natural retraction to the left when the mobile vowel is not realized phonetically. Although this stem was originally poststressing (that is, stress automatically appeared one syllable to the right of the stem), it would have ceased to be poststressing in the pl while retaining this feature in the sg. This can be interpreted either as a restriction of the poststressing rule to the sg for this class of substantives or as the continued application of this rule in all forms followed by a subsequent retraction in the pl. See also fns. 33, 35, below. Evidence for an alternative interpretation, based on a more literal reading of the surface distribution, is discussed in fn. 36, below.

The references to "predesinential" stress in this paper leave open the question of whether stress should be considered bound to the stem-final mobile vowel (or zero) or whether it should be considered bound to the desinence and subsequently retracted.

of ***сестéр*** to analogy with ***овéць*** and ***голóв*** (***голíв***).[32] Rather, ***сестéр*** reflects a direct continuation of inherited predesinential stress. This interpretation is implicitly supported by the observation in Skljarenko 1980: 34–35 that stress on the nonetymological mobile vowel in forms like ***сестéр, земéль*** was more widespread at an earlier time.[33]

Subsequently, a pl pattern like ***сéстри, сестéр, сéстрам***, etc., is susceptible to reinterpretation as stem stress fixed on the full vowel of the pl, in which case Gpl ***сестéр*** would constitute an exception subject to regularization as ***сéстер***.[34] Both ***сестéр*** and ***сéстер*** thus correspond to patterns that can be described without recourse to synchronic stress shifts within the pl subparadigm: ***сéстри, сестéр, сéстрам*** can be considered representative of a regular desinential: predesinential distinction of sg and pl, while ***сéстри, сéстер, сéстрам*** can be considered a regular desinential: initial distinction.[35]

The pl pattern ***гóлови, голíв, гóловам, гóловами, гóловах*** is a more difficult problem. One possible reinterpretation of ***сéстри, сестéр, сéстрам*** is that this represents a new type of mobility, with desinential or predesinential stress in the Gpl and initial stress elsewhere (the same reinterpretation as above, but without regularizing the Gpl). Inherited ap *c* substantives already corresponded partially to this pattern: ***гóлови, голíв*** (but ****головáм***, ****головáми***, ****головáх***). The emergence of initial stress on the

[32] Skljarenko 1969: 75.

[33] Skljarenko identifies the Gpl as having a unique desinential stress, opposed to the root stress of the rest of the pl. As is suggested in fn. 31, above, an alternative interpretation is that the pl pattern ***сéстри, сестéр, сéстрам***, etc., can be considered representative of fixed stress on the nonetymological mobile vowel of the stem. Another possible description that avoids positing stress on an abstract zero is that underlying stress is fixed on the desinence, which, in turn, is marked as prestressing, so that stress is automatically shifted one syllable to the left (onto the full vowel in ***сéстри*** and the mobile vowel in ***сестéр***). In either case, the Gpl does not have to be considered exceptional. (As I note below, the pl subparadigm of ***головá*** does support an interpretation of the Gpl stress as exceptional at a certain stage, but this is not the only possible perspective on examples like ***сестéр***.)

[34] As Stankiewicz (1972/1986: 331) puts it, "The stress on the zero of the stem is, nevertheless, unstable, and both Russian and Ukrainian admit variants with the stress on the vowel" [i.e., on the full vowel in the preceding syllable].

[35] An unstated assumption that diachronic stress shifts must be described with reference to surface forms prevents Skljarenko from considering that stress may be bound to an inherently prestressing syllable. ***Сéстер*** does not have to be considered a direct continuation of **séstrъ* (<**sestrъ́*) because **séstrъ* does not have to be interpreted as having stress on the stem. According to the analysis suggested above, the Gpl form, both before and after the emergence of the secondary mobile vowel, can be considered to have stress on the desinence and to be marked with a diacritic indicating that stress should be retracted in the pl. In this way, the addition of a syllable to the stem need not change the inherent place of stress.

Alternative synchronic derivations for ***сéстер*** are that stress is retracted from the desinence before the mobile vowel is inserted or that the mobile vowel is present before the retraction but is somehow marked as unstressable.

other oblique pl forms of *головá* must then be attributed to the analogical influence of this interpretation of *сестéр*.[36]

The development of a morphophonemic stress alternation within the pl is unexpected in the face of a general tendency to regularize inherited alternations within the sg or pl subparadigms,[37] but no other explanation is available for innovative forms like *гóловам, гóловами, гóловах*.[38] The bridge between the *сестрá* pattern and the accentuation of *головá* may be ap *c* substantives with monosyllabic roots, such as *землá*, since the innovative predesinential stress in NApl *сéстри* coincided phonetically with the inherited initial stress of NApl *зéмлі*.

[36] These examples constitute the principal evidence against the analysis of *сестр*– as /*sestЂr*–/, discussed above. A consequence of that earlier analysis is the assumption that the stress pattern of *головá* is not related at any stage to the stress pattern of *сестрá*. A metrical description of the pl stress pattern of *головá* in CSU would then require a statement that the Gpl desinence is inherently stressed, while the remaining pl desinences are inherently unstressed. A diachronic description of the development of this system from CmSl would require a statement that all oblique pl desinences except the Gpl lost inherent stress. This formulation offers no explanation for why it is the Gpl that is exceptional; a hypothetical alternative course of development in which all pl desinences except, e.g., the Lpl (or any other single case) lost inherent stress would be equally likely.

An analysis that provides an explanation for why the Gpl is more likely than other forms to behave exceptionally is preferable to an analysis that makes no prediction about which case form is the most likely candidate for exceptional behavior. The analysis above, which allows for a reinterpretation of the underlying representation of the pl stress pattern of *сестрá* to conform to the surface representation, has the advantage of providing such a model for the unusual development of *головá*. The cost of such an assumption is allowing a complex surface alternation (*сéстри, сестéр, сéстрам*) to be reanalyzed as underlying, thereby replacing a much simpler underlying representation (/*sestЂr*–/). In the absence of any other account for the pl stress pattern of *головá*, the theoretical advantages of a simpler underlying structure should not outweigh the explanatory advantages of allowing complex surface representations to influence underlying representations, even if this requires a change in the latter in the direction of greater complexity. This principle may require allowing a more complex relationship between underlying and surface representations than is traditional, an issue I hope to address in greater detail on another occasion.

[37] Ukrainian stress patterns 5 and 6 are fundamentally continuations of CmSl ap *c* with regularized stress in the sg or pl. Some CmSl ap *c* substantives are also continued directly as Ukrainian pattern 4.

[38] As far as I have been able to determine, there is no acknowledgement in the literature that pleophonic words in this stress category are a more difficult fact to explain than the accentuation of *сестрá* or *землá*. Within *a*–stem substantives, the pattern of lexemes like *головá* is the only example of a discrepancy between the Gpl and the other oblique pl forms. Yet, Skljarenko (1969: 81) attributes the initial stress of the the Dpl, Ipl, and Lpl to the influence of the NApl, apparently not recognizing that the failure of the Gpl to go along with the rest of the oblique forms is peculiar. From a diachronic perspective, it is difficult to explain the Dpl, Ipl, and Lpl. From a synchronic perspective, the Gpl is aberrant.

Skljarenko (1969: 129–30) adduces Ukrainian dialect data in support of his conclusion that a unique desinential stress in the Gpl (vs stem stress elsewhere) enjoyed a certain vitality. But the examples he cites (e.g., ***підóшва***, ***підóшви***, ***підошóв***, ***підóшвам***; ***ви́шня***, ***ви́шні***, ***вишéнь***/***ви́шнів***, ***ви́шням***) are all subject to interpretation as having fixed stress on the last syllable of the stem, which is zero.[39] When this zero is realized as a syllable (only before the zero desinence of the Gpl), it surfaces with stress. Otherwise, stress is shifted back naturally. In other words, these lexemes belong to Ukrainian paradigm 1; there is no synchronic stress alternation and there is nothing unique about the Gpl.

This analysis is supported by the behavior of polysyllabic stems in this category, which regularly have stress on the predesinential syllable: ***підóшва***, ***черéшня***, ***конóпля***. This is consistent with an interpretation that substantives of this class have stress fixed on the predesinential zero of the stem in both the sg and pl (underlying */pidošь́v-/*, */čerešь́n'-*, */konopь́l'-/*). There is no indication of a pattern of *initial* stress everywhere other than the Gpl in such polysyllabic substantives (similar to the pl accentual pattern of ***головá***), which would require that the Gpl be considered exceptional.

Thus, several layers should be acknowledged in the pl accentuation of these lexemes. In both ap *b* and *c* substantives, stress on the mobile vowel of the Gpl was phonologically motivated. Those substantives that were originally ap *b* could subsequently develop predesinential stress throughout the pl, simultaneously differentiating the otherwise homophonic Gsg and NApl forms and creating a regular stress opposition between sg and pl. This pattern, in turn, could be subject to reinterpretation as a desinential: initial opposition between the sg and pl in monosyllabic stems, in which case the Gpl would constitute an exception subject to regularization. Alternatively, the reinterpretation could take place, but the Gpl could remain an exception, thereby providing a model for the development of ***головá***. The principal fact to be explained diachronically is not the stress of the Gpl, but the stress of the other oblique pl forms of ap *c* substantives like ***головá*** and ***землá***.

[39] These substantives effectively have fixed predesinential stress in both the sg and pl. This is not a separate accentual pattern; stress that is fixed on the stem can be on any syllable, including the final (predesinential) syllable. This accentuation may be old for ***підóшва***, continuing earlier fixed stress on the jer in the root (Zaliznjak 1985: 153), but the mobile vowel in many other examples is not etymologically motivated. The relocation of fixed stress from the initial syllable to the zero in ***ви́шня*** represents not the spread of a stress alternation but a change in the location of a fixed stress; all sg and pl forms of ***ви́шня*** except the Gpl are ambiguously derivable from either */výšьn–/* or */vyšь́n–/*, which means that only one form would require adjustment, should such a reanalysis occur.

ча́шка

The discussion above has important implications for interpreting the accentuation of ***чашки́***. Skljarenko hypothesizes that Gpl ***чашо́к***, which replaced the etymologically expected ****ча́шок***, arose earlier than NApl ***чашки́***, due to the "special" behavior of the Gpl with a zero desinence and a mobile vowel.[40] Skljarenko provides no evidence from early printed books to support his assumption of the diachronic priority of the Gpl innovation, but this notion is indirectly confirmed by dialect stress patterns like ***ви́шня***, ***ви́шні***, ***вишéнь***/ ***ви́шнів***, ***ви́шням***, cited above. As is established above, however, a form like Gpl ***чашо́к*** can be interpreted not as exceptional, but as a reanalysis whereby the substantive reflects fixed stress on the zero.

If we assume that original stem stress in ****ча́шок***, ****ча́шкам***, etc. (i.e., /*čášьk*–/) was subject to reinterpretation as fixed on the predesinential zero (i.e., /*čašь́k*–/), the inherited Gpl form ****ча́шок*** would have become exceptional, making it subject to change.[41] The entire paradigm of ***ча́шка*** would have begun life without any stress shifts, undergone a reinterpretation of the place of fixed stress (from the full vowel of the stem to the predesinential zero), and then regularized the one exception caused by this reinterpretation, thereby restoring a fixed stress pattern.

Once ***чашо́к*** has become established, it is subject to further reinterpretation as desinential stress (</*čašьkъ́*/, with the automatic retraction of stress from the zero desinence) and this ambiguity, supported by the tendencies to distinguish the originally homophonic Gsg and NApl forms (***ча́шки***) and to

[40] I have substituted the monosyllabic root **čaš*– for the traditional **kъnig*–.

Bulaxovs'kyj (1928/1977: 360) makes the same observation about the possibility of desinential stress appearing in the Gpl earlier than in other cases, although he does not believe that the Gpl would have been able to exert analogical influence on the rest of the pl subparadigm. Vynnyc'kyj (1984a: 45) says that the earliest examples of desinential stress in this class are Ipl forms from 1599, citing Veselovs'ka 1970 (which he misdates as 1980). Although Veselovs'ka's earliest examples are Ipl, she never makes this generalization and she does not maintain that her examples are exhaustive. Additionally, Skljarenko (1969: 127) cites a small number of Gpl forms from 1598.

Vynnyc'kyj's conclusion is bolder than is warranted by the anecdotal evidence. There are examples of desinential stress in all cases in the first quarter of the seventeenth century and only a more careful study of the accentual systems of the individual sources can provide any meaningful information about the relative chronology of the stress shift in different cases. A small chronological difference, such as a Gpl example from 1598 and an Ipl example from 1599, is hardly evidence that the change appeared first in the Gpl.

[41] The motivation for the reinterpretation and subsequent restructuring is discussed below. The front jer letter in /*čaš*–*ьk*–/ corresponds to the CmSl reflex of {–*ъk*–} (see fn. 50, below). A back jer letter would correspond more closely to the CSU reflexes.

distinguish sg from pl by a stress opposition,[42] could lead to the development of a predesinential: desinential opposition between the sg and pl. That this opposition could subsequently be extended to initial: desinential is demonstrated by the inclusion of polysyllabic stems like ***ла́стівка, ластівки́*** in this group.

This account agrees with Skljarenko's assumption that the development of Gpl ***чашо́к*** provided a foot in the door for the spread of desinential stress throughout the pl. But while Skljarenko treats the initial change in the Gpl (****ча́шок*** > ***чашо́к***) as the analogical spread of an exceptional stress, I prefer to see it as a regularization made necessary by the reinterpretation of root stress as fixed on the predesinential zero. The source of this original reinterpretation must still be explained.

Stankiewicz (1983/1986: 165) observes that "[the] restriction of the alternation to polysyllabic fem. stems, and especially to stems containing a final zero (i.e., a 'mobile' vowel), accounts for the frequent occurrence of the alternation with derivatives, in the first place with diminutive derivatives formed with the suffix *–#k(a)*." But, as I establish below, the CmSl accentual properties of the suffix *–ъk–(a)* demonstrate that stress on the mobile vowel is etymologically motivated in some substantives of this class (e.g., ***жі́нка, голі́вка***) and is not a secondary development occasioned by the mobile vowel. This explanation removes the need to invoke analogy with unrelated substantives such as ***сестра́, земля́***, or ***вівця́***.[43]

Morphological Accentology

Following Dybo 1981: 260–62,[44] I assume that the position of stress in CmSl words, which is inherited from a system common to Baltic and Slavic dialects (BSl), can be attributed to the accentual properties of the

[42] See Skljarenko 1966: 23 for a discussion of general tendencies in the history of the accentuation of *a*–stem substantives.

[43] Stankiewicz has frequently lamented the "archaeological" approach to Slavic accentuation (most recently in Stankiewicz 1988: 385), which, in his opinion, has resulted in the overemphasis of "the mere reconstruction or the one-by-one description of the contemporary Slavic languages" and the concomitant neglect of structural and typological issues. While this objection is partially justified, the perception of Slavic accentology as a battleground between Neogrammarian "archaeologists" and structural typologists obscures the extent to which the two methods can be considered complementary, a perspective explicitly endorsed in Stankiewicz 1966/1986: 269.

[44] The theoretical framework described here, which is traditionally identified as "morphological accentology," was developed primarily by V. M. Illič-Svityč and V. A. Dybo, who have substantially extended C. Stang's original proposals (on which see Illič-Svityč 1967: 80 and the works cited there and, more recently, Kortlandt 1978, Dybo 1981: 3–10, Lehfeldt 1983, and Vermeer 1984: 331– 37). As these surveys show, the actual development of the theory is far more elaborate than one might conclude from Stankiewicz's (1988: 386) dismissive com-

component morphemes. Every morpheme (prefix, root, suffix, desinence, proclitic, enclitic) was inherently strong or weak accentually. The place of stress within a particular form was determined by two rules: (1) stress fell on the leftmost strong morpheme, and (2) if the word consisted entirely of weak morphemes, stress fell on the initial syllable. Words belonging to this latter class, called enclinomena, were phonologically unstressed and the initial stress that could appear on them was an automatic positional variant of stresslessness.[45] This procedure applied throughout nominal and verbal inflection and derivation.

The system just described produced two BSl accentual paradigms for nonderived words. Paradigm I (strong roots) had stress fixed on the root, since it was always the leftmost strong morpheme. Paradigm II (weak roots) had a stress alternation between the root (in forms with weak desinences, stress fell on the leftmost syllable, which was the root) and the desinence (in forms with strong desinences, stress fell on the desinence, since it was the leftmost strong morpheme). Paradigm II forms with initial stress were enclinomena; although they could appear with a phonetic initial stress, they were phonologically stressless.

This system was modified by a phonologically regular advance of stress in CmSl that is often called Dybo's Law.[46] According to this law, stress that fell on a strong nonacute (circumflex[47] or short) syllable was advanced one

ment that "Stang's proposals have largely been accepted by a number of scholars who have modified them only on some minor points." In a postscript to the second edition of his revolutionary study, Stang (1957/1965: 192) himself refers to some of Dybo and Illič-Svityč's proposals as "highly radical."

45 See Jakobson 1963/1971: 672. The domain over which these stress rules operate is the word plus any adjacent clitic elements ("l'unité accentuelle" in Garde 1976: 5ff.), which should not be confused with the lexical or orthographic word.

46 Some scholars refer to this development as Illič-Svityč's Law; as Dybo observes in his commentary to H. Birnbaum 1987: 500–501, 506, it was discovered through collaborative work.

This shift occurred throughout the language and affected both the nominal and verbal systems. See Dybo 1962: 7, Dybo 1962a: 225, Illič-Svityč 1963: 160–61, Dybo and Illič-Svityč 1963, Kortlandt 1983: 34–35 (which discusses the differences between Dybo's and Illič-Svityč's formulations), and Collinge 1985: 31–33.

47 That is, BSl circumflex, not "Slavic circumflex." In classical Slavic accentology, the term circumflex is applied inappropriately to ap *c* roots. Since this class included both originally (BSl) acute and circumflex roots (as reflected in Lithuanian nominal accentual paradigms 3 and 4), it was mistakenly assumed that Slavic had undergone an analogical spread of the circumflex intonation. This development is traditionally called Meillet's Law (first articulated in Meillet 1902; see also Collinge 1985: 117–18).

Scholars interpreted the relationship of Lithuanian ap 3 and 4 to a single CmSl ap *c* as a Slavic spread of circumflex intonation because of an assumption that the shifts of stress that characterized this Slavic paradigm should be attributed to Fortunatov's extension of Saussure's Law, which affected only short or circumflex roots (see the following footnote). Stang's

syllable to the right irrespective of the intonation of the target syllable.[48] The principal effect of this process was the bifurcation of Paradigm I into a paradigm with fixed root stress (continuing acute roots that were not subject to Dybo's Law) and a paradigm with fixed postroot stress (continuing nonacute roots that underwent the advance of stress). Because the initially stressed enclinomena of Paradigm II were phonologically stressless, they were not subject to Dybo's Law and continued to form a single ap.

The resulting CmSl system had three accentual paradigms: *a* (fixed root stress, continuing Paradigm I with acute roots), *b* (fixed postroot stress, continuing Paradigm I with nonacute roots), and *c* (mobile stress, continuing Paradigm II). The phonological regularity of the CmSl system was disrupted by a number of analogical processes and morphophonemic developments (such as the tendency to distinguish sg and pl by stress, discussed above).[49]

(1957/1965) recognition that Saussure's Law did not operate in Slavic does not change the fact that original BSl intonational differences reflected in Lithuanian were neutralized in CmSl and yielded a single pattern. But Stang's discovery means that this interpretation need no longer be considered the analogical spread of circumflex intonation and the term "Slavic circumflex," which traditionally designates the reconstructed CmSl intonation of the initially stressed forms of ap *c*, does not directly continue an earlier BSl circumflex. Meillet's analogical explanation of the Slavic development was further undermined by Dybo's demonstration (1958) that "Meillet's Law" operated not only in the nominal, but also in the verbal system. Thus, Dybo 1981 puts "circumflex" in quotation marks when referring to the Slavic circumflex. The correspondences ("nonacute" embraces BSl circumflex and short) are

	strong		weak	
	acute	nonacute	acute	nonacute
BSl	I		II	
Lith	1	2	3	4
CmSl	*a*	*b*	*c*	

As this illustrates, BSl circumflex corresponds to both CmSl ap *b* and some members of ap *c*, a relationship that is obscured by the traditional use of the term "Slavic circumflex" to designate ap *c*. See Lehfeldt 1983: 91–94 and Skljarenko 1986.

48 In this it differed from Saussure's Law in Lithuanian, which required that the target syllable be acute. See Collinge 1985: 149–52 and the references listed there.

49 Such developments can be described in a variety of ways. From a generative perspective one can speak of stems acquiring a diacritic marking that indicates, e.g., stress retraction in the pl. From a structural perspective, one can speak of the development of stress oppositions that emphasize categorial oppositions, such as number. Although every morpheme in CmSl can be assigned a single accentual valence (strong or weak) that does not change with specific morphological or semantic features (specific cases or numbers), some properties of the modern East

–ъk–(a)

Following Garde (1976: 224–26), I assume that the CmSl suffix *–ъk–(a)*[50] was originally strong.[51] There were, accordingly, three possible accentual patterns for derived substantives with this suffix. Derivatives from ap *a* roots would have had stress on the root, since it was the leftmost strong morpheme and, being acute, was not subject to Dybo's Law. Derivatives from ap *b* roots would have undergone an advance of stress from the strong nonacute root onto the suffix *–ъk–* as a result of Dybo's Law. Because Dybo's Law was not iterative, stress would then have remained on the suffix. Derivatives from ap *c* roots would originally have had stress on the suffix *–ъk–*, since the suffix was the leftmost strong morpheme. Because the suffix was short (and therefore nonacute), this stress would then have been advanced onto the desinence by Dybo's Law. This CmSl situation is illustrated below, where the root **čaš–* is strong and acute,[52] **žen–* is strong and nonacute,[53] and **golv–* is weak:[54]

	a	*b*	*c*
CmSl	*čáš–ьk–(a)	*žén–ъk–(a)	*golv–ъ́k–(a)
Dybo's Law	–	*žen–ъ́k–(a)	*golv–ъk–(á)[55]

Garde (1976: 225) and Zaliznjak (1985: 146–47) observe that derived forms of the type **golv–ъk–(á)* were apparently revised or remodeled under the influence of substantives of the type **žen–ъ́k–(a)*, effectively

Slavic languages are more easily described by positing separate accentual properties for the sg and pl subparadigms (although certain combinations of properties are more frequent or productive than others). The generative and structural perspectives are not mutually exclusive; the former can make it easier to describe the relationship of the modern systems to CmSl, while the latter can make the patterns of change in the modern systems more perspicuous.

50 *–ьk–(a)* after velar and palatal consonants.

51 Suffixes, like all other morphemes, were originally strong or weak. Garde (1976: 54–92) also identifies several classes of dominant suffixes, which determined the accentuation of a derived stem even when combined with strong roots, thereby overriding the principle that stress falls on the leftmost strong morpheme. (Alternatively, these suffixes can be considered to remark the inherent accentual valences of preceding stems.)

Although some dominant suffixes apparently developed early and are reflected in all or virtually all Slavic languages, an earlier CmSl stage without dominant morphemes can be reconstructed. Thus, Dybo 1968: 212–14, 1979: 12–20, 1979a: 43–48, and 1981: 189–91. (Dybo uses the term "доминирующий" to designate regular strong morphemes; this should not be confused with Garde's term "dominant.")

52 Zaliznjak 1985: 132.

53 Skljarenko 1969: 58, Zaliznjak 1985: 135.

54 Illič-Svityč 1963: 151, Skljarenko 1969: 35, Zaliznjak 1985: 138. The intonation of weak roots is irrelevant.

55 Note that derivatives from ap *a* and *b* roots belong to ap *a*, while derivatives from ap *c* roots belong to ap *b*. No derived substantives with the suffix *–ъk–(a)* can belong to ap *c*, since this suffix is strong and only stems with no strong morpheme can belong to ap *c*.

re-marking the suffix *–ъk–(a)* as strong but not postaccenting.[56] The resulting situation may be represented as follows:

	a	*b*	*c*
CmSl	*čáš–ьk–(a)	*žén–ъk–(a)	*golv–ъ́k–(a)
Dybo's Law	–	*žen–ъ́k–(a)	*golv–ъk–(á)
Remodeling	–	–	*golv(nъ́k–(a)

The jer in the suffix was in strong position in Gpl forms and in weak position elsewhere. When it was in strong position in original ap *b* and *c* words it was able to retain the stress, while when it was in weak position it was unable to bear stress, which was retracted one syllable to the left. As a result, Gpl **ženók* and **golovók* would be expected to alternate with Nsg **žénka* and **golóvka*.[57]

This inherited accentual pattern was regularized still further in the East Slavic languages. In Russian, stress has become fixed on the stem for all derivatives in *–к(a)*, although forms like CSR *наём*, *на́йма* (< **najьḿ–*) remain as traces of an alternation of stress on a jer in strong position moving to a preceding syllable when the jer is in weak position.

The assumption that such an alternation developed naturally in Ukrainian provides support for Skljarenko's contention that Gpl *чашо́к* was the first stage in the development of a pattern with desinential stress throughout the pl. But while Skljarenko and Bulaxovs'kyj saw *чашо́к* as developing by analogy to *сесте́р*, *земе́ль*, there is a closer source in inherited forms like **женó́к* and **головó́к*. Since *ча́шка* is derived from an ap *a* root, we assume that phonologically regular stress on the mobile vowel in derivatives from ap *b* and *c* roots was extended to derivatives from ap *a*

[56] Developments such as this indicate the breakdown of the originally phonological difference between strong acute morphemes, which preserved stress, and strong nonacute morphemes, which were subject to Dybo's Law. Thus, Zaliznjak (1985: 146) marks this suffix as strong but not postaccenting (except for residual archaisms). Although postaccenting suffixes were originally phonologically conditioned (by intonation), by Early East Slavic (and perhaps even CmSl) this postaccenting property had begun to develop into a diacritic feature, rather than a phonologically regular process.

Garde (1976: 225–26) also observes that the masculine nominal suffix *–ъk–(ъ)* developed in the opposite direction, becoming postaccenting even when combined with ap *b* roots. Thus CSU *корольо́к*, *королька́* (ap *b* root) like *голосо́к*, *голоска́* (ap *c* root).

[57] Even before the analogical realignment of derivatives from ap *c* bases, the place of surface stress in the Gpl forms of ap *b* and *c* forms would have coincided, since the original output of Dybo's Law in the latter cases (e.g., Gpl **golv–ъk–ъ́*) would have developed naturally into **golv–ъ́k–ъ* when the final jer became unstressable. The derivation of CSU *голо́вочка* requires further attention, since the jer of the leftmost suffix was in strong position and therefore potentially stressable (**golv–ъ́k–ьk–a*).

roots, which already coincided in the stress of the sg.[58] There are two processes at work: the spread of phonologically regular stress on the mobile vowel in derivatives from ap *b* and *c* roots to derivatives from ap *a* roots and the reinterpretation of stress on the mobile vowel as desinential stress (leading to the generalization of desinential stress throughout the pl).[59]

One apparent counterexample to this analysis is that the reflexes of our paradigmatic CmSl ap *c* lexeme, **golovъka*, in CSU do not strictly conform to the *ча́шка* pattern. The unmarked diminutive of *голова́* is a substantive with fixed stress on the second syllable: *голі́вка, голі́вки, голі́вок*, where the *i* instead of *o* in the Gpl[60] betrays the analogical source of the Gpl form. However *голо́вка* (pl *голо́вки́, голо́во́к*), which optionally exhibits an alternation of stem stress in the sg and desinential stress in the pl, is preserved as a marked diminutive with specific meanings ('head of cabbage, onion bulb, head of a bolt'). Additionally, Skljarenko (1969: 126) conveniently notes that the form *голово́к* is attested in a 1676 publication.[61]

This suggests that the regularization of stress proceeded both similarly and differently in Russian and Ukrainian. CSR shows the complete generalization of stress before the suffix *–ъk–(a)*.[62] In CSU, on the other hand, some words have brought the Gpl in line with the rest of the pl (e.g., *голі́вок*), mirroring the Russian development, while others have

[58] In other words, *–ъk–(a)* developed in the direction of a dominant suffix that could override the accentual valence of strong roots.

[59] The relative ordering of these changes is unclear; it is possible that the accentuation of the Gpl spread to derivatives from ap *a* roots first and that desinential stress throughout the pl developed simultaneously in derivatives from all three types of roots. Alternatively, it is possible that desinential stress in the pl developed in derivatives from ap *b* and *c* roots first, after which ap *a* roots were adapted to the existing pattern. Finally, it is also possible that the two processes were operating simultaneously.

It might be illuminating to examine the documentation for the development of this stress pattern in polysyllabic stems like *ла́стівка* and *неві́стка*. The analysis proposed here suggests that the latter should be more susceptible to change, since stress in the sg is already on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. Bulaxovs'kyj's interpretation, which relied on the analogical pressure of *o–*stem substantives that had initial stress in the sg, suggests that the former examples should be more susceptible to change.

[60] This *i* originally developed from *o* in closed syllables that emerged when jers were lost in weak position. It is phonologically regular in all forms of this substantive except the Gpl, where the *o* was still in an open syllable.

[61] Likewise *жоно́к* from the first half of the seventeenth century. CSU *жіно́к* retains the original stress but substitutes an analogical root vowel.

[62] That is, stress that originally fell on the mobile vowel in the Gpl of some substantives appears on the full vowel of the stem (e.g., *голо́вок*). This represents the change of *–ъk–* from a strong suffix, where stress is automatically retracted from the jer when it is in weak position, to a preaccenting suffix, where stress precedes the suffix irrespective of the realization of the mobile vowel. Note also that mobile vowels are often not stressable, as in CSR *у́гол, угла́*, on which see, e.g., Halle 1973: 320ff.

reinterpreted the Gpl as stress on the zero desinence and then brought the rest of the pl in line with it, thereby supporting the tendency reflected elsewhere (as in Ukrainian accentual pattern 7, ***бджолá, бджóли***) to strengthen or develop an accentual opposition that would distinguish the sg and pl. During the history of the language, substantives have been adapted to one or another of these patterns, often irrespective of their original accentual properties.

According to the description above, **golov−ъ́k−a* developed into **golov−ъk−á* by Dybo's Law, after which a stress retraction restored **golov−ъ́k−a*. The intermediate form **golov−ъk−á* is predicted by Dybo's Law, but there is no solid empirical evidence for its actual existence. We can, however, speculate that the pl desinential stress of these substantives in CSU can be considered a continuation of the desinential stress that would have resulted from the effect of Dybo's Law. As mentioned above, broad documentation for Ukrainian accentuation begins only at the very end of the sixteenth century, by which time pl desinential stress is already recorded for these substantives. The Ukrainian paradigm in question is not a complete, direct continuation of the CmSl situation, since Dybo's Law would have affected the sg forms as well as the pl and there is no evidence of desinential stress in the sg for these substantives. Nonetheless, there is no empirical reason to reject the possibility that the effects of Dybo's Law were conducive to the eventual development of the attested CSU accentual alternation, although such a possibility must be considered speculative.[63]

Not all substantives that belong to the ***чáшка*** pattern include the suffix *−ъk−(a)*, but those that do not include this suffix usually end in a consonant cluster and have an original or secondary mobile vowel. Many of those that do not end in a consonant cluster also have derivatives in *−к(a)*: ***бáба*** (***бáбка***),[64] ***мáма*** (***мáмка***), ***хáта*** (***хáтка***), which may have provided support

[63] The assumption of a retraction that produced **golov−ъ́k−a* from **golov−ъk−á* is apparently based on an assumption that Russian and Ukrainian developed identically, after which Ukrainian underwent an advance of stress in the pl forms of these substantives. There is no empirical evidence for whether this development is more likely than an alternative assumption that Russian underwent a retraction of stress in all forms, while Ukrainian underwent a retraction only in the sg.

[64] Pl ***бáбки*** (only) in *ULVN* 1973: 32 and Vynnyc'kyj 1984a: 49 but ***бабкú*** (only) in Pohribnyj 1984: 38. One American-born native speaker of Ukrainian distinguished desinential pl stress in the meaning 'grannies' but root stress in the meaning 'Easter cakes'.

for the spread of this accentual pattern from the derived substantives to the nonderived.[65]

Additionally, Ustinova (1986: 13) observes that most Ukrainian substantives with this accentual pattern and with a zero desinence in the Gpl do not wind up with surface stress on the root in that form, since all suffixed and some nonsuffixed examples have a mobile vowel that surfaces in the Gpl and bears stress (e.g., *чашóк*). Most stems without mobile vowels have, at least optionally, an unusual Gpl desinence *–ів* that bears stress (e.g., *бабíв*). Thus, this pattern only rarely increases the incidence of surface stress alternation within the pl subparadigm.[66]

Stankiewicz's Interpretation

Stankiewicz 1983/1986: 165–66 exemplifies a serious problem with analyses oriented exclusively around structural typology. Stankiewicz writes:

> A more cogent explanation of the $\alpha \sim \beta$[67] alternation in the fem. *a*–stems was suggested by V. Skljarenko, who observed on the basis of old Ukrainian texts that the alternation had first made its appearance in the gen. plural of stems containing a "mobile vowel." But the modern facts show that the alternation also occurs in polysyllabic stems without such a vowel (e.g., *týsjača, stárosta, máty*: (pl.) *tysjačý, starostý, materí*). What Skljarenko's study does imply, however, is that in its earliest phase the stress alternation arose first in the oblique cases of the fem. plurals; in this it followed the pattern of masc. and fem. circumflex stems which carried a stem stress (α) in the sing. and nom.(–acc.) plural and a desinence stress (β) in the oblique cases of the plural; that is, the accentuation of the substantives *písni*: *pisén'*, *knýžky*: *knyžók, máteri*: *materéj, stárosty*: *starost(ív)* was based on such masc. and fem. alternations as *bóky*: *bokív, zúby*: *zubív, zémli*: *zemél', hólovy*: *holív, vívci*: *ovéc', svýni*: *svynéj, nóči*: *nočéj*. Such an alternation is still common in a large number of stems regardless of their original accentual type (e.g., *dóčky*: *dočók, séstry*: *sestér, kósti*: *kostéj, díty*: *ditéj*). The generalization of the desinential stress in the oblique cases of the plural did not, however, affect the counted forms of the gen. plural, which have hitherto preserved their original thematic stress (*šist' knýžok, písen', máterej*, etc.) in opposition to the end stress of the simple gen. plural.[68]

[65] Not all examples are subject to this explanation. As Stankiewicz (1983/1986: 165) notes, the pattern also occurs with some polysyllabic stems that do not end in consonant clusters or have mobile vowels: *тúсяча, стáроста, мáти*.
[66] This fact supports Ustinova's theory that changes are unlikely to increase the incidence of noncategorically distributed stress alternations. See fn. 31, above.
[67] This is Stankiewicz's designation for an alternation between stem and desinential stress.
[68] On this last sentence see fn. 21, above.

I have quoted Stankiewicz at some length to avoid any misunderstanding, because Skljarenko 1968[69] and Skljarenko 1975,[70] the two sources cited by Stankiewicz, do not say or "imply" that "in its earliest phase the stress alternation arose first in the oblique cases of the fem. plurals." What Skljarenko does say is that the stress alternation arose first in the Gpl (i.e., in one pl case form, not in the entire pl oblique system). While Stankiewicz continues that "it followed the pattern of masc. and fem. circumflex[71] stems which carried a stem stress (α) in the sing. and nom.(−acc.) plural and a desinence stress (β) in the oblique cases of the plural," Skljarenko neither says nor implies anything of the sort. The opposition to which Stankiewicz refers was inherited by ap *c* masc. *o*−stems (e.g., ***зýби, зубíв***). Additionally, pl forms of ap *c* *a*−stems reflected the stress opposition that Stankiewicz discusses (e.g., ***гóлови, голíв, *головáм, *головáми, *головáх***), but the sg was not uniformly stressed initially (e.g., ***головá***).[72] While we may

[69] Stankiewicz 1983/1986: 169 incorrectly identifies the pages for this article as 34−40; they should be 58−61.

[70] Stankiewicz 1983/1986: 169 incorrectly gives the date of this article at 1956. In any case, this article deals almost entirely with the western South Slavic languages and has nothing whatever to do with the Ukrainian accentual pattern under consideration.

[71] Slavic, rather than BSl, circumflex. See fn. 47, above.

[72] Furthermore, Stankiewicz's statement that an alternation between "a stem stress (α) in the sing. and nom.(−acc.) plural and a desinence stress (β) in the oblique cases of the plural. . . is still common in a large number of stems regardless of their original accentual type" requires clarification.

This pattern is more restricted than Stankiewicz's description would suggest and three of his four examples do not conform to it at all, at least in CSU. ***Дочкá*** has desinential stress in the sg and stem stress in the entire pl (***дóчки, дóчок*** in *ULVN* 1973: 179 and Pohribnyj 1984: 179, ***дочкá, дóчки, дóчок, дóчкам, дóчками*** in Pohribnyj 1964: 164), as does ***сестрá*** (with complications in the Gpl: ***сéстри, сéстéр, сéстрам*** in Pohribnyj 1964: 518, *ULVN* 1973: 597, and Pohribnyj 1984: 521). The sources differ on ***дíти***: *ULVN* 1973: 163 gives only ***дíти, дітéй, дíтям***, while the fuller paradigm in Pohribnyj 1964: 149 and Pohribnyj 1984: 169 (***дíти, дітéй, дíтям, дíтьми, на дíтях***) does not admit the variation in the Ipl found in *SULM* 1969: 136 (***дíти, дітéй, дíтям, дíтьмú, на дíтях***). Despite the differences, not one of these substantives can be considered to have an alternation of stem stress in the sg and NApl vs desinential stress in the oblique pl; those examples that have sg forms invariably have desinential stress in the sg and not one of these three examples has stem stress in the NApl opposed to desinential stress in the oblique pl. Additionally, ***землá, головá, вівцá***, and ***свинá*** do not have and never had a pattern of stem stress in the sg and NApl opposed to desinential stress in the oblique pl.

Finally, Stankiewicz's *tysjačý* should read *tysjačí*. The accentual pattern of this substantive is more complicated than Stankiewicz's citations would suggest: ***тúсячí, тúсяч*** (as might be expected for a substantive whose most common Gpl form is likely to be the counted Gpl), ***тúсячáм*** (Pohribnyj 1964: 586, *ULVN* 1973: 649, and Pohribnyj 1984: 562). ***Стáроста*** distinguishes two meanings by pl stress: ***стáрости, стáрост*** 'chief of a community' but ***старостú, старостíв*** 'wedding sponsor' (*ULVN* 1973: 626 and Pohribnyj 1984: 542; Pohribnyj 1964: 586 concurs, but also admits ***старóсти, старóст*** in the first meaning.). The standard Gpl of ***мáти*** is ***матерíв*** (Pohribnyj 1964: 294, *ULVN* 1973: 324, Pohribnyj 1984: 326, but Hanusz 1884: 375 reads "plur. ***мáтери***, gen. ***мáтереj***, oder wie im Russ. ***матерéj***").

speculate that after the Gpl *чашóк* acquired desinential stress the remaining oblique forms adopted this stress earlier than the NApl (thereby conforming to the inherited pattern of *зýб*), Skljarenko never suggests this and Stankiewicz offers no evidence in support of it.[73]

Conclusions

Although it is generally agreed that the Gpl was the probable starting point for desinential stress in the pl forms of substantives like *чáшка* and *книжка*, this study has suggested that a source for this pattern was already present within substantives with the suffix *–ъk–(a)*, such as *жíнка* and *голíвка*. It has also suggested, albeit speculatively, that forms like NApl *голóвкú* might be interpreted as a reflection of etymologically motivated desinential stress in pl forms other than the Gpl.

Aside from the implications of this analysis for the history of Ukrainian accentuation, this study indicates that an understanding of regular phonological developments based on the inherent accentual properties of morphemes can complement descriptions based on structural typology. Seventeenth-century examples like *головóк* and *жонóк* are archaisms, rather than the result of the analogical influence of *сестéр* or *земéль*, a point that becomes apparent only when adequate attention is paid to the phonological processes that help determine the accentual history of the suffix.

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[73] Skljarenko (1969: 72–74) considers stem stress in NApl forms of substantives like *сéстри* CmSl. Based on comparative evidence, Zaliznjak (1985: 286–87) rejects this interpretation, but acknowledges that the retraction in the NApl may have operated earlier in Ukrainian than in Russian; this is supported by the data in Veselovs'ka 1959: 42, 47. In either case, a retraction in the NApl *сéстри* prior to the appearance of any retraction in the rest of the pl would have matched the inherited pl patterns of *зýби* and, originally, *зéмлі* and *гóлови* (although the accentuation of the sg forms would have differed and the last two examples underwent further changes). But a retraction in substantives like *сестрá* is different from an advance of stress in substantives like *чáшка* or *книжка*; neither Skljarenko nor Stankiewicz presents any evidence for such a chronology in the latter class and, despite Stankiewicz's references, this notion is not implicit in Skljarenko's studies.

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Ol'ga's Visit to Constantinople*

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In the wake of the scholarly activity occasioned by the millennium of the conversion of Rus' under Volodimer in 988, a great deal has been written of late concerning the conversion of his grandmother, the Princess Ol'ga (d. 969), who became regent upon the death of her husband Igor' (ca. 945) and reigned until the coming of age of her son Svjatoslav (ca. 964). That Ol'ga became a Christian there is no doubt; but when and where she was baptized is a matter of controversy.[1]

The sources telling of Ol'ga's baptism belong to three independent groups—the Slavonic, the Byzantine, and the Latin—and many attempts have been made to establish the veracity of each by triangulation from the other two. Briefly, the Slavonic *Pověst' vremennyx lět* (*PVL*) and *Pamjat' i poxvala knjazju ruskomu Vladimiru*, both apparently on the basis of a lost *Encomium* of Ol'ga, place her baptism in Constantinople ca. 955. The *PVL* relates that Ol'ga was baptized by the patriarch; that the Byzantine emperor Constantine, the son of Leo, was her godfather; and that her Christian name

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[1] Beginning with G. von Rauch, "Frühe christliche Spuren in Russland," *Saeculum* 7 (1956):40–67, esp. 65 about Ol'ga; G. Ostrogorsky, "Vizantija i Kievskaja Knjaginja Ol'ga," in *To Honor Roman Jakobson* [=*Janua Linguarum*, ser. maj. 32], vol. 2 ([The Hague], 1967), pp. 1458–73; J.-P. Arrignon, "Les relations internationales de la Russie kievienne au milieu du X^e siècle et le baptême de la Princesse Ol'ga," in *Occident et Orient au X^e siècle* [=*Publications de l'Université de Dijon*, 57] (Paris, 1979), pp. 167–84; G. Litavrin, "Putešestvie russkoj knjagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol': Problema istočnikov," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 42 (1981): 35–48; idem, "O datirovke posolstva knjagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol'," *Istorija SSSR* 5 (Sept.–Oct. 1981): 173–83; idem, "Russko-vizantijskie svjazi v seredine X veka," *Voprosy istorii*, 1986, no. 6, pp. 41–52; O. Pritsak, "When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized?," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9, no. 1/2, (June 1985): 5–24 [reprinted separately, Cambridge, Mass., 1987]; L. Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands* (Munich 1987), esp. pp. 72–86 about Ol'ga; D. Obolensky, "Russia and Byzantium in the Tenth Century: The Problem of the Baptism of Princess Olga," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28 (1983): 157–71; idem, "The Baptism of Princess Olga of Kiev: The Problem of the Sources," in *Philadelphie et autres études* [=*Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 4] (Paris, 1984), pp. 159–76; idem, "Ol'ga's Conversion: The Evidence Reconsidered," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/1989): 145–58.

was Helen.[2] Although the other particulars in this account concerning the emperor's marital intentions toward Ol'ga appear quite fanciful, the *PVL*'s dating of her baptism presents nothing improbable: Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (son of Leo VI; 913–959, sole emperor 944–959) was then on the Byzantine throne, and his empress was Helen (d. 962), daughter of Romanus I Lecapenus (920–44). The empress presumably stood godmother, and we should expect Ol'ga to have taken the Christian name of her imperial godparent, as Boris of Bulgaria took that of Michael III, and Volodimer that of Basil II.

The *PVL*'s dating and location of Ol'ga's baptism is corroborated by one of the two original Byzantine sources, the *Synopsis Historiarum* of the late-eleventh-century court official John Skylitzes. Usually very reliable, Skylitzes tells of Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople and baptism there in his account of the reign of Constantine VII. He adds that she was "fittingly honored" (ἀξίως τιμηθεῖσα) for her religious conviction. Skylitzes also mentions her husband Igor', who had once attacked Byzantium, and states that he had died before Ol'ga's visit. No exact date is given for the visit, but the events recounted in the surrounding text occurred in the mid 950s.[3] So far, then, there is no discrepancy in the sources, but let us now turn to the Latin one.

Under the year 959 in Adalbert of Magdeburg's continuation of the *Chronicle* of Regino of Prüm, we read that envoys arrived at the court of Otto I from Helen, Queen of the Rus', who had been baptized in Constantinople in the reign of Romanus ("Helenae reginae Rugorum, quae sub

[2] The account of the baptism occurs in the *PVL* s. a. 6463 (955): L. Müller, *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik* [=*Forum Slavicum*, 49], vol. 1 (Munich, 1977), p. 60. (Dr. D. Ostrowski has kindly allowed me to consult the new edition of the *PVL* that he is preparing for the Harvard Library in Early Ukrainian Literature, texts series, and he informs me that since the emperor appears as Constantine, son of Leo [with unimportant morphological variations], in the Radziwiłł, Academy, Hypatian and Xlebnikov MSS, we may discount the occurrence of Tzimisces in the Laurentian MS.) The author of the *Pamjat'*, James the Monk, says that Ol'ga had been a Christian for fifteen years at the time of her death: S. Bugoslavskij, "K literaturnoj istorii 'Pamjati i Poxvaly' Knjazju Vladimiru," *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovestnosti Akademii nauk* 29 (1924): 147.

[3] Καὶ ἡ τοῦ ποτε κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκπλεύσαντος ἄρχοντος τῶν Ῥῶς γαμετή, Ἔλγα τοὔνομα, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἀποθανόντος παρεγένετο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. καὶ βαπτισθεῖσα καὶ προαίρεσιν ἐιλικρινοῦς ἐπιδεικνυμένη πίστεως, ἀξίως τιμηθεῖσα τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνέδραμε, ed. I. Thurn, *Ioannis Skylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* (Berlin, 1973), p. 240, 77–81. Though removed from the event by more than a century, Skylitzes had reliable sources: cf. Gy. Moravscik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Berlin, 1958), pp. 355–56.

Romano imperatore Constantinopolitano Constantinopoli baptisata est").[4] Surely only Romanus II can be meant here: Romanus I died in 944, and Ol'ga could not have come to Constantinople to be baptized before the death of Igor' ca. 945. But although Romanus II was made co-emperor with his father Constantine VII in 946/47,[5] he did not become sole emperor until Constantine's death in November of 958/59, and one wonders whether one year would have been time enough for Ol'ga to have gone to Constantinople, been baptized, returned to Kiev, dispatched envoys, and for the latter to have reached Germany. Furthermore, there is a problem with Ol'ga's Christian name. Adalbert, too, gives her the Christian name of Helen, but if she was baptized during the sole reign of Romanus II, the empress for whom she would have been named was Romanus's second wife Theophano, whom he married ca. 955.[6] It has been argued that Ol'ga might still have taken the name of the dowager empress Helen.[7] But against this stands the fact of Theophano's jealousy of the power of the former empress and her five daughters: she urged her husband to shut them up in a convent, and he finally complied in this ca. 961, though he relented in the case of his mother. The empress Helen was allowed to remain in the palace, and she retained her son's affection; but she had become quite ill and was in fact bed-ridden for several years before her death in 962.[8] It seems unlikely that Helen would have become Ol'ga's godmother under these circumstances. Therefore, rather than date Ol'ga's baptism to a conjectured visit to Constantinople after 959, which, as we shall see, would have been a second visit, we should prefer to assume that Adalbert, contemporary of the events though he was, has been careless here, and the phrase *sub Romano imperatore* refers to the joint reign of Constantine and Romanus, viz. 947–959. In

4 Ed. A. Bauer and R. Rau, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit* [=*Ausgewählte Quellen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 8] (Darmstadt, 1971), p. 214.

5 Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 237, 7.

6 Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 240, 82–86; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker [=*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 32] (Bonn, 1888), p. 488, 8–16. This part of Theophanes Continuatus was probably written by the well-informed contemporary Theodore Daphnopates (cf. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche Profaneliteratur der Byzantiner* [=*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaften*, 5, 1], vol. 1 [Munich, 1978], p. 343). Daphnopates, however, was biased in favor of the reigning imperial house, and it is difficult to determine whether Theophano was the daughter of the patrician Krateros, as he states, or of an inn-keeper, as Skylitzes would have us believe. In any event, since Basil II was born in 955 (Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 369, 5; see fn. 18 below), Romanus's marriage to Theophano ought not to be dated to 956 as it usually is.

7 Obolensky, "Baptism," p. 171, and "Ol'ga's Conversion," pp. 145–58.

8 Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 252, 8–18; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, pp. 471, 11–472, 2 (daughters to convent), 473, 9–12: ἡ δὲ Αὐγοῦστα Ἑλένη, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ κλινήρης καὶ συναγαλλομένη τῷ ἄνακτι, καὶ ἐπὶ ἱκανοὺς χρόνους ἀρρωστοῦσα, εὐσεβῶς τέθνηκεν. Both sources are in agreement here.

this way Adalbert may be brought into agreement with the other sources.

The remaining Byzantine source, however, has proved to be the stumbling block. Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople and the official functions for her reception there by the emperors Constantine VII and Romanus II and the empress Helen are recorded in the text known as *De Caerimoniis*, the Book of Ceremonies of the Byzantine court composed, or at least compiled, by Constantine VII himself.[9] Exciting though the mention here of Ol'ga's visit is, however, the exact dating of the visit is complicated; nor does there at first appear to be any baptizing in evidence, and this has sent scholars triangulating anew from the other sources. One scholar has concluded that Ol'ga remained a pagan throughout this visit and, as we have already seen, posits a second visit in the sole reign of Romanus;[10] others argue that she must have been baptized before this visit, presumably in Kiev;[11] yet another, to whom this volume is dedicated, sees here two visits conflated into one.[12] I fear, however, that though everyone has combed the part of this text which treats of Ol'ga's visit, no one has examined it carefully in the context of the entire chapter in which it occurs.

The description of the ceremonies organized for Ol'ga's visit, lumped together under the title "Another reception, for Elga of Rus'," forms the last part of the fifteenth chapter, entitled "All That Must Be Observed When a Reception Is Held in the Great Triclinium of the Magnaura," in Book 2 of *De Caerimoniis*. Book 1 of this text, as Constantine tells us in the preface to Book 2, contains descriptions of ceremonies (many of them obsolete) which he found already written down; but in Book 2 he promises to provide descriptions of ceremonies that have not yet been committed to writing. And indeed this part of the work contains descriptions, by Constantine and a later compiler, of ceremonies performed in the tenth century, both routine ones as well as those for special occasions, for example, the proclamation of Constantine's son Romanus as co-emperor in 947 (cap. 17, not extant), and the naval expedition to Crete in 949 (cap. 45).[13] We must remember,

9 *De Caerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. I. Reiske [=*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 3], vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), pp. 594, 15–598, 12.

10 Obolensky, "Baptism," and idem, "Conversion." Arrignon, "Les relations," p. 178, places the baptism in Kiev during the sole reign of Romanus.

11 Ostrogorsky,"Vizantija i Ol'ga," p. 1466; Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands*, pp. 78–80.

12 Pritsak, "When and Where," pp. 12–14.

13 Preface to Book 1, in the edition by A. Vogt, *Constantin VII Porphyrogenète: Le Livre des Cérémonies*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1967), pp. 1–2; preface to Book 2, ed. Reiske, pp. 516–17. It is impossible to be certain whether the last part of the fifteenth chapter telling of Ol'ga's visit comes from Constantine's pen or was added by a later compiler (Basil the Paracoemomenus?), as certain other parts of *De Caerimoniis* must have been (e.g., the mention of Constantine's tomb in cap. 43), cf. Moravscik, *Byzantinoturcica*, p. 381.

however, that the purpose of *De Caerimoniis*, as Constantine states in the preface to Book 1, is to record *ceremonies*, not the historical events with which they may have been connected. Now, since the description of the ceremonies for Ol'ga cannot be understood properly outside the context of those for other foreign visitors which precede it, we provide here a translation of most of the fifteenth chapter.[14]

ALL THAT MUST BE OBSERVED WHEN A RECEPTION IS HELD IN THE GREAT TRICLINIUM OF THE MAGNAURA, WHEN THE EMPERORS SIT ON THE THRONE OF SOLOMON

Be it known that when there is to be a reception in the Magnaura, the <inner> palace is not opened for the daily morning procession, but all the Senate proceeds in the morning to the Magnaura and changes there into their ceremonial attire. Toward the end of the second hour, when all has been made ready, the Praepositi and all the Cubicularii come in through the Church of the Lord, and the Emperors put on the *divitisia* and the *sagia* with gold borders and go out through the passage of the Forty Martyrs and the Sigma escorted by the Cubicularii and the Manglavitai and the Company; and they go out into the Church of the Lord and light tapers; and from thence they pass through the Sakelle and the Oatos and through the ascending narrow passage to the solarium of the Magnaura, and they enter the Great Triclinium in which stands the throne of Solomon. There, under the apse on the right side of the Eastern end, stand the golden thrones, and the cloaks and crowns are set out; and the Emperors go into the chamber on the left, <. . .>. And when everything has been arranged by the Master of Ceremonies and the Praepositus and the Logothete of the Course, the Praepositi enter and inform the Emperors. And forthwith the Emperors go out and proceed to the place where the cloaks and crowns are set out, and the Praepositi put these upon the Emperors, and they ascend and sit upon the thrones. And the assembly standing beyond the movable curtains at the Western end shout the prayer for "Many Years." Then the Praepositi go out and bring in the Cubicularii, on both sides, right and left, as is the custom. And when these latter have taken their places, the Praepositus nods to the Ostiarius who carries the golden verge, and he goes out and conducts the first entrée, the Magistri. And again at the nodding of the Praepositus the other Ostiarius goes out and in the same manner conducts the second entrée, the Patricii. And again at the nodding of the Praepositus the other Ostiarius goes out and in the same manner conducts the third entrée, the Senators; and thus for all the other entrées, as is the custom and prescribed form for receptions. Then the Catapan enters with the Domesticus and the attendants of the Chrysotriclinium, and they stand on the right and the left before the two movable curtains at the Western end. When they have taken their positions, the Praepositus nods to the Ostiarius who carries the golden verge, and he brings in the foreigner, who is supported by the Catapan of the Basilikoi or by the Count of the Stable or by the Protostrator. The interpretor comes with them; and, of course, the Logothete of

[14] Translated from the edition of Reiske (fn. 9), pp. 566, 12–598, 12.

the Course leads them. When the foreigner enters, he falls to the floor in reverence to the Emperors, and forthwith the organs sound; then he comes in and stands at a distance from the Imperial throne, and the organs cease [*read* παύουσι]. Be it known that when the foreign legate comes forward toward the Emperor, the elite of his retainers enter, and having prostrated themselves they take their places this side of the movable curtains. Whilst the Logothete asks the customary questions of the legate, the lions begin to roar and the birds, those on the throne as well as those in the trees, begin to sing harmoniously; and the animals on the throne rise from their places. Whilst this is happening, the foreigner's gift is brought in by the Protonotarius of the Course. And again after a short time the organs cease, and the lions are silent, the birds stop singing and the beasts on the throne resume their usual places. After the gift has been presented, the foreigner, when so bidden by the Logothete, prostrates himself and withdraws; and as he goes out the organs sound, and the lions and birds all utter their own voices, and all the beasts rise from their usual places. And when the foreigner goes out through the curtain, the organs and the birds cease and the beasts resume their usual places. If there is another foreign legate and the Emperors command that he should be brought in, the same order and ceremony that we have described is observed as he comes in and goes out; and likewise for as many legates as they wish to receive: the same is done for each of them. Be it known that after the legates have gone out, the Praepositus says in a loud voice, "If you please!," and the Magistri and Patricii and Senators go out, invoking "Many Years" for the Emperors. When they have gone out, the Praepositus again says, "If you please!," and the attendants of the Chrysotriclinium and the Cubicularii go out invoking "Many Years" for the Emperors. And when they have all gone out, the Emperors descend from the thrones; and putting off the crowns and cloaks, they put on their *sagia* with golden borders. And they go out privately into the God-guarded <inner> palace by the same way by which they came up, escorted by the Cubicularii; and the latter, as the Emperors pass through the Chrysotriclinium, stand and invoke "Many Years," etc.

CONCERNING THE RECEPTION HELD IN THE SPLENDID GREAT TRICLINIUM OF THE MAGNAURA IN THE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE AND ROMANUS, EMPERORS IN CHRIST OF THE ROMANS, BORN IN THE PURPLE, UPON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF THE EMISSARIES OF THE EMIR OF TARSUS WHO CAME TO NEGOTIATE THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS AND PEACE, ON SUNDAY, THE 31ST OF MAY, IN THE FOURTH INDICTION

Be it known that in the Great Triclinium of the Magnaura, in which the throne of Solomon stands, silver-brass chains from the monastery of Sergius and Bacchus in the quarter of Hormisdas were suspended: seven on the right side and seven on the left; and four more chains from the same monastery were suspended from the four great columns; and outside the Triclinium, another chain from the same monastery was suspended in the great arched pavilion; and on these chains were hung the large silver chandeliers of the New Church. In the same Triclinium of the Magnaura the golden organ was placed on the right side, between the great columns, outside the curtains which were hung there; and away from it, toward the Eastern end, was

placed the silver organ of the Blue Faction, and likewise, on the left side, the silver organ of the Green Faction. Be it known that the *pastopoioi* used brocades to convert all of the Anadendradion into a great arched pavilion; and in the spaces between the pillars supporting the brocades large *skaramangia* from the palace were hung, reaching to the very pavement. Be it known that when the legates from Spain [viz. Cordoba] came, a reception was held which was in every way like this one, except that the Anadendradion of the Magnaura was not adorned with brocades, but completely with large *skaramangia*; and enameled objects from the Treasury were hung in it. The reception for the legates from Spain was held on the 24th of October. Be it known that in this arched pavilion made from brocades... [The text goes on for another eleven pages describing in great detail the decorations in all the buildings where the foreign visitors were received as well as in the places through which they passed on their way in and out of the palace, including also careful descriptions of all the various imperial officials and soldiers in attendance, where they were positioned and how they were dressed. Incidentally, the last to be mentioned are the "baptized Rus" (οἱ βαπτισμένοι Ῥῶς, p. 579, 21), who stood with banners outside the balustrade of the Brazen Gate of the palace among others who served in the imperial navy.]

CONCERNING THE RECEPTION

When the Emperor had come out of the <inner> palace and gone into the Metatorion of the Great Triclinium of the Magnaura, the Saracens were summoned to come and see the Emperor. And the Saracen legates left the Chrysion [viz. their hospice there] and descended the spiral staircase to the stable of the Augusta and the chamber called Anethas; and from thence they passed the Holy Well and, dismounting outside the balustrade of the Brazen Gate, they went in through the Brazen Gate and the Triclinium of the Scholae and the Tribounalion, and turning off to the right (for the vaulted passage there was decorated and blocked off with silken hangings) they sat there until the Emperor arrived and all was ready for the reception. Be it known that when the Emperor came from the <inner> palace and went into the Metatorion of the Magnaura, the choristers and factions began chanting the Imperial Praises. Be it known that after the Emperor had put on the eight-sided cloak and the great white crown, he ascended the throne of Solomon and sat upon it. And after he had sat down, all invoked "Many Years" for him. The choristers, both those from the Church of the Holy Apostles and those from Saint Sophia, began to chant the Imperial Praises, and the entrées were performed according to the usual order, the Saracen legates at the end, supported by the Catapan of the Basilikoi and the Count of the Stable. The latter both wore *spekia*, not their ordinary ones, but others which were most beautiful and costly, and also torques adorned with precious stones and large pearls. It is not the custom for a *barbatus* [viz. non-eunuch] to wear such a torque, with either pearls or precious stones, but for the sake of display this was ordered for this occasion only by the Christ-loving Emperor Constantine. And when the usual ceremony had been performed, the Saracens went out; and passing through the Anadendradion and the Triclinium of the Candidati and the triclinium in which the canopy is hung and the Magistri are promoted, they went from thence through the Onopous and the porch of the Augustaeus, that is the Golden Hand, and entered into the triclinium of the Augustaeus and sat there until the Emperor went into the

<inner> palace. And after the Emperor had gone into the <inner> palace, the Saracen envoys were summoned after a time from the Augustaeus; and going through the inside passages of the Augustaeus and the Apse and the Hippodrome, they went thence to the Skyla; and entering the Western end of the Triclinium of Justinian, they sat on the benches there. Then through a chamberlain the Emperor sent them embroidered garments and other ceremonial attire to change into. Be it known that the golden sceptres of the Romans and the insignia and other golden sceptres stood there on both sides, right and left, held by the Candidati who wore *skaramangia* in addition to the usual attire of the Candidati; and the sceptres remained there throughout the banquet. Be it known that at the banquet the Magistri wore their ordinary magisterial tunics and baldrics and cloaks, as is the custom at Easter. The Grand Chamberlain wore a *spekion*, likewise the Logothete and the rest of the Patricii, they too wore *spekia*. Whilst the Saracen legates dined with the Emperors, the choristers from the Church of the Holy Apostles stood behind a curtain in the vault leading to the Emperor's bed-chamber, whereas those from Saint Sophia stood behind a curtain in the vault leading to the Pantheon; they sang the Imperial Praises throughout the banquet, stopping only for the entrance of the dishes when the organs sounded. Be it known that when the Emperor rose from table, before the legates went out, the Master of the Table presented each of the two legates with five hundred miliaresia in golden bowls encrusted with precious stones; and to their retainers they gave three thousand miliaresia. When the legates withdrew, they went into the Eastern end of the Triclinium of Justinian (the end near the Mesokepion) and sat down on the benches there; and through a chamberlain the Emperor sent them vine-blossom and rose-water, and *galaia* and other perfumes. They washed in the embossed hand-basins which had been prepared there and dried themselves with towels of precious fabric, and anointed themselves abundantly with the sweet and fragrant perfumes and unguents. Then they again passed through the Lausiakos and the Horologion and the Chrysotriclinium and went out through the Eastern doors of the Chrysotriclinium; and passing through the solarium of the Pharos, they descended by way of the solarium of the New Church and the great triclinium <there> to the Tzykanisterion; and from thence they went off on horse to their hospice, the Chrysion. Be it known that the embossed platters and bowls were still suspended high up in the great cornice of the Chrysotriclinium, and the small embossed bowls were suspended in the window-vaults of the Dome. Be it known that after several days had passed the Saracen legates asked to see and converse with the Emperor. And since the aforementioned decorations [described in the part missed out, pp. 580, 6–582, 22] had been removed from the Chrysotriclinium, three crowns were suspended in the inner compartments in the turret which always stands in the Chrysotriclinium: in the compartment toward the East, the green crown from the Church of the Holy Apostles; to the right, the blue crown from the Church of the Most-Holy Mother of God of the Pharos; and to the left, the crown from the Church of the Great-Martyr Demetrius. Each of the crowns had its cross, and the three doves of the three crowns were suspended in the compartment toward the West. On either side of the turret were set up two thrones: on the right, toward the East, that of Arcadius, in which sat Romanus, the God-crowned Emperor born in the purple; and on the left, the throne of the Holy Constantine. On both sides of the Chrysotriclinium, the right and the left, stood the other Imperial thrones, as well as the two golden couches and the silver pillars, at the place where the Western curtain was hung; and beneath the curtain stood the three great jugs. Also, the golden curtains

which are used at Easter were hung in the same Chrysotriclinium. The floor was strewn with myrtle and rosemary and roses. The gold table was not set up. The Magistri and Proconsuls and Patricii wore their ordinary ceremonial attire, and likewise the Cubicularii. The attendants of the Chrysotriclinium wore red *sagia*; the A Secretis wore purple *sagia*. The Praepositi stood in their usual place. The Emperor put on the Eagle, the cloak and the great white crown, and sat down. The chamberlains and the Catapan and the Mystikos stood in their ceremonial attire in the places assigned to their entrée in the Chrysotriclinium. The Saracens entered through the Hippodrome and the Skyla, and passing through the Triclinium of Justinian and the Lausiakos they were brought in to the Emperor in the customary manner by the Logothete; and drawing near [πλησίον γενόμενοι] the Imperial throne they conversed with the Emperor about all that they wished. Their retainers were also brought in, and stood at the Western end in the place raised upon the two pillars, behind the three great golden jugs; and they remained there until the legates took their leave of the Emperor and withdrew. And when the legates had passed halfway through the Chrysotriclinium, their retainers went out with them, shouting their praises; and again passing through the Lausiakos and the Triclinium of Justinian and the Skyla and the Hippodrome and the Apse they went off to their hospice in the Chrysion.

CONCERNING THE RACE IN THE HIPPODROME ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF THE SARACEN LEGATES FOR THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS AND PEACE IN THE FOURTH INDICTION, IN THE REIGN OF THE EMPERORS CONSTANTINE AND ROMANUS BORN IN THE PURPLE

In the section of the Blue Deme stood the leader of the Numeri, instead of the Domesticus of the Scholae, wearing the golden cloak of the Blues ordinarily worn by the Domesticus of the Scholae; and in the section of the Green Deme stood the Domesticus of the Wall, wearing the golden cloak of the Greens ordinarily worn by the Domesticus of the Excubitors.(*Scholion*. Be it known that the *Exskoubitos* was at the time in the city, and it was he who stood in the section of the Green Deme, not the *Teicheiotes*.) The Demarch of the Blues stood in the section of the White Deme, and the Demarch of the Greens in that of the Red Deme. In the sections of the Blues and the Greens were hung red curtains made of segmenta, three curtains in each section; and in the sections of the White and the Red Demes were hung the purple curtains of the Chrysotriclinium, the ones with griffins and asses on them. All the members of the factions and the choristers from the Holy Apostles and Saint Sophia were spread throughout the sections of the four demes. The faction members wore their ordinary *kamisia* and crowns made of segmenta and held handkerchiefs, and the choristers from the Holy Apostles and Saint Sophia wore silken *kamisia* of the *skepton* and blazons with embroidered basins and the other attire of those who serve in the chambers of the Nineteen Couches. The faction members who stood in the sections of the two great demes, the Blues and the Greens, held in their hands the wands of the Saximon. The four charioteers wore the golden *demosia* which are worn for the Golden Race; the four bigarii wore other *demosia*, and the other bigarii wore *gymnastikia*. The four impersonators and all the workmen wore golden garments of segmenta with short sleeves. The city officials wore the white cloaks of the

four Tagmata. Upon the victory of the Blue Faction, the dance of the Saximon was performed according to the prescribed order for the Race of the Vegetables: the victors were escorted by the four impersonators and all the workmen of the two factions wearing the golden garments of segmenta with short sleeves, as well as by the members of the two factions holding the wands of the Saximon. The Demarch of the Blues, this being the victorious faction, wore a purple *sagion* according to the prescribed order for the Race of the Vegetables, and he also took part in the escort. For the sake of display before the Saracen legates it was ordered that the members and impersonators and workmen of the other faction should also take part in the escort. (The old order of ceremony did not prescribe this, but that only the members and workmen and impersonators of the victorious faction should form the escort.) After the charioteers, the Demarch, the members of the faction, the impersonators and the workmen had danced the Saximon according to the prescribed order, they stood in the Π and shouted <the Imperial> praises; and then they proceeded along the Mese to their own church of the Mother of God in the quarter of the Deaconess, according to the prescribed order for the Race of the Vegetables.

On the 6th of August, the feast of the bright Transfiguration of the Lord Jesus Christ, the feast was celebrated according to the order that has been followed from ancient times, except that on account of the Saracen legates the Emperors wore the *loros* and held sceptres surmounted by crosses and the *akakia*. The Magistri and Proconsuls and Patricii also wore the *loros*, but they did not hold sceptres or the *akakia*. All the appurtenances were brought out and taken in procession according to custom: the great <processional> cross, the rod of Moses, the sceptres of the Romans, the insignia, and all the other things which are kept in the Church of the Lord. The choristers from the Holy Apostles and Saint Sophia sang together with the members of the factions, wearing the aforementioned ceremonial attire they had worn for the reception. The Tribounalion, in which, according to the prescribed order, the legates stand to see the Emperor as he goes off in the church procession and then returns, was decorated in the aformentioned manner, as had been done for the reception [described in the part missed out, p. 572, 14–19]. The Great Church of Saint Sophia was decorated as it is usually for Easter. In the galleries above the Imperial Doors were hung the golden curtains from the columns of the ciborium and other curtains and altar-cloths from both Saint Sophia and the New Church. A great many chains from various churches, and all the large chandeliers from the New Church were hung there; and crowns and other artifacts, golden and gem-encrusted crosses and books of the Gospels were displayed. And the rest of the procession was performed according to the usual order.

On Sunday, the 9th of August, a banquet was held in the Triclinium of Justinian and the silver service which is kept in the Vestry of Carianus was brought out, and the banquet was served with it. All the theatrical games were performed. At this banquet dined the two Tarsan legates and their retainers, as well as forty of the Tarsan captives from the Praetorium. To each of the two legates were given five hundred miliaresia in golden bowls; and to their retainers, three thousand miliaresia; and to the forty captives, one thousand miliaresia; and a sum of miliaresia was sent to the captives who had remained in the Praetorium. When the Emperor rose from table, the legates again went to the right end of the same Triclinium and sat down in the manner aforementioned. And again the chamberlains brought them perfumed waters and oils and unguents; and after they had washed and refreshed themselves

with fragrances, they again passed through the Chrysotriclinium and went out by the Eastern doors, in the manner described above.

ANOTHER RECEPTION, FOR THE DAYLAMITE <ABU TAG͟HLIB>

Be it known that on Sunday, the 13th of August, upon the arrival of the Daylamite <Abu Tag͟hlib>, Emir of Amida and apocrisarios of Abu Chabdan [viz. Sayf ad-Dawla], a reception was held in every way like the one described above. Golden thrones were placed in the middle of the Great Triclinium of the Magnaura, upon which the Emperors sat. But the Cubicularii did not come in and stand by; only the chamberlains and attendants of the week stood by, all in their own ceremonial attire. The Candidati also stood by holding the sceptres of the Romans and the insignia and other appurtenances. The Logothete brought in the legates from Tarsus, and they saw the Emperor and conversed with him about all that they wished; and then taking their leave, they withdrew and went to sit in the triclinium of the Dome, which many improperly call the Oatos (for the archive of the Sakella which is there is called the Oatos). Then the Emperor put on the eight-sided cloak and the great white crown, and sat upon the throne of Solomon, and a reception was held in every way like the aforementioned one for the Tarsan legates. When Abu Tag͟hlib withdrew, he went to sit outside the Church of the Lord, in the place where the Emperors put on their crowns when they are about to go off on horse to the Church of the Holy Apostles on the Monday and Sunday after Easter.

That same day a banquet was held in the great Triclinium of the Nineteen Couches according to the prescribed order and ceremony for Twelfth Day <after Christmas>: in attendance were the officers of the Sakellion and the Vestiarion, as well as the Eidikos, each of them with his own notary, and also the Cubicularii, all wearing the ceremonial attire prescribed for Twelfth Day. On the right side, toward the Western end, a round side-table was set up, in order that the Saracen legates might not think that any of them sat in a place of preference to the others. At this side-table sat the Magister Cosmas, the Grand Chamberlain, the two legates from Tarsus, and the apocrisarios of Abu Chabdan.

ANOTHER RECEPTION, FOR ELGA OF RUS' [τῆς Ἔλγας τῆς Ῥωσένης]

On Wednesday, the 9th of September, upon the arrival of Elga the Princess of Rus' [τῆς ἀρχοντίσσης Ῥωσίας], a reception was held in every way like the aforementioned one, and the Princess entered with her noble (female) relations [εἰσῆλθεν αὐτὴ ἡ ἀρχόντισσα μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῆς συγγενῶν ἀρχοντισσῶν] and the elite of her (female) attendants. The Princess came in before all the other women, and they followed her in order, one after the other; and she stood in the place where it is customary for the Logothete to ask questions. After her came in the apocrisarioi and merchants of the princes of Rus' [οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ῥωσίας ἀποκρισάριοι καὶ πραγματευταί], and they remained at the bottom, by the curtains; and the rest of the reception was conducted after the manner of the aforementioned one. When she withdrew, the Princess again passed through the Anadendradion and the Triclinium of the Candidati and the triclinium in which the canopy is hung and the Magistri are promoted, and then through the Onopous and the Golden Hand, that is, the porch of the Augustaeus, and she sat there. After the Emperor had gone into the <inner>

palace in accordance with the customary order, another reception was held in the following manner. In the Triclinium of Justinian a platform covered with reddish-purple silk was set up, and upon it stood the great throne of Theophilus, with another golden Imperial throne on the side [καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου σελλίον χρυσοῦν βασιλικόν]. The two silver organs of the two factions were placed at the bottom of the hall, this side of the curtains (the organs which played were placed behind the curtains). Then the Princess was summoned from the Augustaeus, and passing through the Apse and the Hippodrome she traversed the inside passages of the Augustaeus and came to the Skyla, where she sat. Then the Empress came and sat upon the aforementioned throne, and her daughter-in-law on the throne on the side [ἐν τῷ σελλίῳ]. All the Cubicularii came in, and through the Praepositi and the Ostiarii the entrées were performed: first entrée, the Zostai; second entrée, the wives of the Magistri; third entrée, the wives of the Patricii; fourth entrée, the wives of the official Protospatharioi; fifth entrée, the wives of the other Protospatharioi; sixth entrée, the wives of the Spatharokandidatoi; seventh entrée, the wives of the Spatharioi, Stratores, and Candidati. Then the Princess was brought in through the Praepositus and the two Ostiarii: she entered first, and following her, as said before, were her noble (female) relations and the elite of her (female) attendants. Questions were asked of her by the Praepositus, as from the Empress; and the Princess withdrew and went to sit in the Skyla. When the Empress rose from the throne, she went out through the Lausiakos and the Tripeton, and entering the Kainourgios, she passed through to her own bed-chamber. Then the Princess and her relations and attendants went in through the Triclinium of Justinian and the Lausiakos and the Tripeton to the Kainourgios and rested. Then the Emperor sat with the Empress and his children born in the purple, and the Princess was summoned from the Kainourgios; and at the Emperor's bidding she sat [καθεσθεῖσα] and conversed about all she wished with the Emperor. On the same day a banquet was held in the same Triclinium of Justinian, and the Empress and her daughter-in-law sat upon the aforementioned throne<s>, and the Princess stood on the side [ἐκαθέσθη ἐν τῷ προρρηθέντι θρόνῳ ἡ δέσποινα καὶ ἡ νύμφη αὐτῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀρχόντισσα ἐκ πλαγίου ἔστη]. Then, after the Master of the Table had brought in the noblewomen according to the customary order, and they had prostrated themselves [ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τῆς τραπέζης κατὰ τὸν εἰωθότα τύπον εἰσελθουσῶν τῶν ἀρχοντισσῶν καὶ προσκυνησάντων], the Princess bowed her head slightly in the place where she stood and sat at the separate table with the Zostai according to the prescribed order [ἡ ἀρχόντισσα τὴν κεφαλὴν μικρὸν ὑποκλίνασα, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἵστατο, ἐκαθέσθη εἰς τὸ ἀποκοπτὸν μετὰ τῶν ζωστῶν κατὰ τὸν τύπον]. Be it known that the choristers from the Holy Apostles and Saint Sophia were in attendance at the banquet singing the Imperial Praises; and all the theatrical games were performed. And there was another banquet in the Chrysotriclinium where dined the apokrisarioi of the princes of Rus' [τῶν ἀρχόντων Ῥωσίας] and the retainers and relations of the Princess and the merchants. Her nephew received thirty miliaresia; her eight (male) relations, twenty miliaresia each; the twenty apokrisarioi, twelve miliaresia each; the forty-three merchants, twelve miliaresia each; the priest Gregory, eight miliaresia; the two interpretors, twelve miliaresia each; the retainers of Svjatoslav [οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ Σφενδοσθλάβου], five miliaresia each; the six retainers of the apocrisarioi, three miliaresia each; and the Princess's interpretor, fifteen miliaresia. When the Emperor rose from the banquet, a dessert was served in the Aristeterion, and the small golden table from the Pentapyrgion was set out, and upon it the dessert was served in

enameled bowls encrusted with precious stones. And there sat the Emperor, as well as Romanus, the Emperor born in the purple, and *their* children born in the purple and the daughter-in-law and the Princess [ἐκαθέσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Ρωμανὸς ὁ πορφυρογέννητος βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ πορφυρογέννητα τούτων τέκνα καὶ ἡ νύμφη καὶ ἡ ἀρχόντισσα]; and to the Princess were given five hundred miliaresia in a golden bowl encrusted with precious stones; to her six relations, twenty miliaresia each; and to her eighteen attendants, eight miliaresia each.

On Sunday, the 18th of October, a banquet was held in the Chrysotriclinium, and the Emperor sat with the Rus' [μετὰ τῶν 'Ρῶς]. And again there was another banquet, in the Pentakouboukleion of St. Paul, and the Empress sat with her children born in the purple and her daughter-in-law and the Princess. And to the Princess were given two hundred miliaresia; to her nephew, twenty miliaresia; to the priest Gregory, eight miliaresia; to the female relations of the Princess, twenty miliaresia each; to her eighteen handmaidens, six miliaresia each; to the twenty-two apokrisarioi, twelve miliaresia each; to the forty-four merchants, six miliaresia each; to the two interpretors, twelve miliaresia each.

Before attempting an analysis of the ceremonies on the occasion of Ol'ga's visit, let me stress again that we must not expect too much from this source: Constantine is concerned here only with ceremonies. Had there not been a difference in the fabric used for the pavilion in the Anadendradion on the two occasions that it was constructed, he would not have mentioned the embassy from Cordoba—and we should never have known of it. We must look for historical clues in this text wherever we can find them, and we must be very grateful for them: they are incidental to the author's purpose.

First, then, let us settle the date of Ol'ga's visit. The date of the first reception recorded in the chapter, that of the embassy from Tarsus, is given as the fourth Indiction, viz. 946. Some scholars have argued that all the receptions in the fifteenth chapter took place in that same year, and, indeed, all the days of the week mentioned fell on the given dates in that year. But the same days fell on these dates again in 957.[15] The presence of the Tarsan legates before the reception and at the banquet for Abu Tag̲hlib (d. 979) would appear to prove that his visit took place in the same year.[16] But certain particulars in the description of the ceremonies for Ol'ga make 957 the only possible date. Before presenting these, however, we must establish that these ceremonies all took place during the same visit. Ol'ga was

[15] The easiest way to compute Byzantine dates is still with D. Lietzmann and D. Aland, *Zeitrechnung der römischen Kaiserzeit* [=*Sammlung Göschen*, 1085] (Berlin, 1956).

[16] There is a problem here, however: Abu Tag̲hlib came as the emissary of Sayf ad-Dawla (d. 967), who was still a child in the 940s, cf. M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides de Jezira et de Syrie* [=*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*, 21], vol. 1 (Paris, 1953), pp. 541–72.

received in the palace on two days, Wednesday, the 9th of September, and again on Sunday, the 18th of October. Omeljan Pritsak has argued ingeniously that the first date refers to a visit in 946, and the second to another in 957, citing among other things the discrepancies in the number of attendants in Ol'ga's entourage.[17] But it seems to me that the presence of the priest Gregory and Ol'ga's nephew on both occasions makes two visits, separated by eleven years, most unlikely.[18] Furthermore—and here we come to the reason for dating Ol'ga's visit to 957—at the dessert served in the Aristeterion on the 9th of September, Ol'ga sat with the emperors Constantine and Romanus and *their* children and the daughter-in-law.[19] Now Romanus was born in 939, and though one scholar has concocted an ingenious explanation that the daughter-in-law here was Romanus's first, child bride, it would nevertheless have been impossible for him to have had children at the age of seven. In 957, however, Romanus was eighteen, and his son by his second wife Theophano, the future Basil II, was two years old.[20]

[17] Pritsak, "When and Where," p.12.

[18] No identification of this Gregory seems possible, though the *PVL* does recount that Ol'ga kept a priest, who buried her: ed. Müller, p. 68, 1. The representatives of two of Igor''s nephews, Igor' and Akun (Haakon?), are mentioned in the Russo-Byzantine treaty of 945: ibid., p. 46.

[19] Professor Obolensky has brought to my attention the fact that there are those who would emend τούτων to τούτου (ed. Reiske, p. 597, 21; see F. Tinnefeld, "Die russische Fürstin Olga bei Konstantin VII. und das Problem der 'Purpurgeborenen Kinder,'" *Russia Mediaevalis* 6, no. 1 [1987]: 30–35), but this would then refer to *Romanus*, not Constantine, since Romanus is mentioned after Constantine in the preceding part of the sentence. Nor does it appear that this can be explained as referring to Constantine and Helen, whose name has been missed out here. When the author of *De Caerimoniis* mentions the children of Constantine and Helen at the session with Ol'ga earlier, on the 9th of September, he calls them *Constantine's* children: εἶτα καθεσθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῆς αὐγούστης καὶ τῶν πορφυρογεννήτων αὐτοῦ τέκνων. . . (ed. Reiske, p. 596, 17–18). And again, in describing the empress's banquet for Ol'ga in the Pentakouboukleion on the 18th of October, where Helen sat with her children (μετὰ τῶν πορφυρογεννήτων αὐτῆς τέκνων, ibid., p. 598, 6–7), the author uses the genitive of the simple third person pronoun αὐτός. But by the demonstrative τούτων in the passage in question, the author stresses the fact that the children of both emperors were present at the dessert in the Aristeterion on the 9th of September. It seems reasonable that the young Basil II was included only in this festive and short function: surely the session of Ol'ga's discussion with the emperor would have been too boring, and the banquets too long, for a two-year-old child.

[20] Litavrin, "O datirovke," argues that the daughter-in-law here was Bertha, daughter of Hugh of Provence, who died in 948/49 (Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 231, 60–62). He explains that the empress and the young Bertha sat *together* on the same throne at the banquet on the 9th of September. But surely the daughter-in-law sat on the throne at the side as she had done at the reception earlier in the day: the phrase ἐν τῷ σελλίῳ, used earlier (ed. Reiske, p. 595, 21–22) to indicate exactly where the daughter-in-law sat on the raised platform, has simply been missed out here (ibid., p. 596, 23), either through the author's haste or by scribal omission. Constantine is not so concerned in the description of the banquet with the positions of the empress and daughter-in-law as with that of Ol'ga. Surely the throne of Theophilus and the *sellion* remained on the platform where they had been placed earlier for the reception (ibid., p.

Thus we can be certain that Ol'ga was in Constantinople from at least the 9th of September until the 18th of October 957: only two years removed from the dating of her baptism there in the Slavonic sources. We do not know how much earlier she may have arrived, or how much longer she may have stayed, but there is certainly no later occasion referred to in *De Caerimoniis*: the "other banquet" (ἕτερον κλητώριον) at which the emperor dined with the Rus', mentioned in connection with Ol'ga's banquet with the empress on the 18th of October, certainly took place simultaneously, as the two banquets had done before, and not at some later date, as another scholar contends.[21]

Now to the question of Ol'ga's conversion. It has been argued that Ol'ga remained a pagan throughout the visit described in *De Caerimoniis* because she is called by her pagan name Elga (Helga) instead of her Christian name Helen. But surely the reason for this is simply that Ol'ga was better known in Byzantium by her pagan name. Though Skylitzes states that Ol'ga was baptized, he, too, calls her only by her pagan name (Ἔλγα), just as he calls Volodimer Βλαδιμιρός in his account of the latter's marriage to Basil II's sister Anna; and, as we shall see below, he also calls Vladislav and Miroslava of the Bulgarian imperial house, whom he most certainly knew to be Christians, by their pagan names.[22] In any case, the argument of the name has little validity in connection with *De Caerimoniis*: Constantine makes it clear in his preface that he has eschewed the fineries of style in this work and uses common words for various things, in order that they may be more easily understood (though for us this causes great

595, 14–15). For the meaning of *sellion*, a portable throne, see Vogt, *Constantin VII*, 2:2, p. 2, fn. 1. In a later article Litavrin reiterates this hypothesis concerning Bertha and the earlier dating ("Russko-vizantijskie svjazi," pp. 42–43).

Basil II was seventy years old when he died in 1025 (Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 369, 5). He was the only child of Romanus and Thephano born before 957: his brother Constantine (VIII) was born in 960, and their sister Anna in 963 (ibid., p. 254, 39). The children of Constantine referred to here are presumably Romanus's five sisters: Zoe, Theodora, Agatha, Theophano, and Anna (Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, p. 471, 11). The Aristeterion ("Breakfast-room") adjoined the Chrysotriclinium, and Constantine had fitted it out with an inlaid silver table, "affording guests yet greater joy in the sweetness of their food" (ibid., pp. 450, 21–451, 3).

21 V. Pheidas, 'Η Ἡγεμονὶς τοῦ Κιέβου Ὄλγα-Ἑλένη (945–964) μεταξὺ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως,' Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 39–40 (1972–73): 637, appears to have misunderstood the words καὶ πάλιν (ed. Reiske, p. 598, 5): the meaning here is "and again" (viz. as before) there was another (simultaneous) banquet where the empress dined with Ol'ga.

22 Ed. Thurn, pp. 336, 90 and 367, 72 (Volodimer); 365, 2 (Vladislav); 342, 54 (Maria).

difficulty, since so many of these words are otherwise unattested!).[23] Furthermore, we must remember that the Kievan chancellery used only the ruler's princely, viz. pagan, name in official documents until the thirteenth century.

As further evidence that Ol'ga remained a pagan during this visit, attention has been drawn to the words that the reception for her was "in every way like" the aforementioned ones for the Saracens. But this was the case only of the first formal reception before the throne of Solomon, and the Byzantines subjected everyone, including the obstreperously Christian Liutprand of Cremona, to this phantasmagorical display.[24] Once this was got over with, other ceremonies were performed which had been confected quite particularly for Ol'ga, and surely it is to Constantine's (or the later compiler's) desire to record these latter that we owe the mention of Ol'ga's visit in *De Caerimoniis*. After the initial reception before the emperor in the Magnaura, Ol'ga withdrew to the Augustaeus, and here the similarity with the ceremonies for the Saracens ends. Ol'ga was then received formally a second time, by the empress Helen and her daughter-in-law Theophano, this time in the Triclinium of Justinian II. This reception over, Ol'ga then followed, after a decorous delay, the route taken by the empress into the inner palace, and she rested in the Kainourgios, or New Triclinium, a building very close to the empress's private apartments.[25] The Saracens, on the other hand, were never allowed into this part of the palace, and provi-

[23] Ed. Vogt, *Constantin VII*, 1: 2, 15–18.

[24] Described in his *Antapodosis*, ed. J. Becker, in *Die Werke Liudprandus von Cremona* [=*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*. . .] (Hannover, 1915), pp. 154, 5–155, 15.

[25] The Kainourgios, built by Basil I (867–886), consisted of a bed-chamber and triclinium (Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, pp. 146, 23–147, 3), and was decorated with colored marbles and mosaics depicting Basil's "Herculean" military exploits. Another mosaic depicted his empress, Eudocia, on a throne and their children round about her, like stars, holding books: proof, it was intended, of their knowledge of Scripture. There were two inscriptions, in the form of prayers. First, on the part of the parents: "We thank Thee, most gracious God, King of Kings, that Thou hast surrounded us with children, who thank Thee for the glory of Thy wondrous works. Keep them in Thy will, that none of them transgress Thy commands, that for this too we may bless Thy goodness"; and on the part of the children: "We bless Thee, Word of God, that Thou hast raised our father from the lowly estate of David, and hast anointed him with the oil of Thy Holy Ghost. . ." (ibid., pp. 331, 21–335, 7; cf. J. Ebersolt, *Le grand palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1910),. 127–29). An appropriate place, this, for the empress Helen to have accommodated a goddaughter. Indeed, one wonders whether Ol'ga might not have been lodged in the Kainourgios during her stay in Constantinople; after all, it did contain a bed-chamber (κοιτών, ibid., p. 146, 23). There is no evidence to the contrary in *De Caerimoniis*. The *PVL* would appear to contradict this, intimating that Ol'ga was forced to remain uncomfortably in the Golden Horn (on board ship?; cf. Obolensky, "Russia and Byzantium," p. 167); but perhaps this is simply another of the chronicle's many exaggerations.

sions were made for them to sit in various more public places whenever they did not return to their hospice. After her rest, Ol'ga was summoned from the Kainourgios and sat (καθεσθεῖσα) with the emperor and empress and their children whilst she conversed with the emperor. Constantine does not indicate where this session took place; it may well also have been in a private part of the palace. In any event, it differs from the treatment of the Saracens who were clearly received in a formal setting for their conversation with the emperors and conversed with them alone, not in the presence of all the imperial family; nor were they allowed to sit, but merely drew near (πλησίον γενόμενοι).

More important for our discussion, however, are the ceremonies which took place at the banquet on the ninth of September. The male members of the embassy from Rus' dined, as the Saracens had done, with the emperor in the Chrysotriclinium. But Ol'ga dined with the empress and Theophano in the Triclinium of Justinian II. The empress and Theophano sat upon the raised platform as they had done at the reception earlier in the day,[26] but now Ol'ga stood at their side. Thus she, too, was the object of the prostrations of reverence (προσκυνησάντων) of the *archontissai* brought in to the banquet by the Master of the Table. The word *archontissai* here refers not only to Ol'ga's relations, as has been generally thought, but also to the wives of officials of the Byzantine court, who had also taken part in the reception earlier in the day.[27] Then, from where she stood, Ol'ga bowed her head slightly to the empress and took her place at the imperial table with the Zostai "according to the prescribed order." Now the rank of *Zoste patrikia* ("Girdled Lady") was a very high one indeed. The earliest reliable mention of a holder of this rank is of Theoctista, the mother-in-law of the emperor Theophilus (829–842). The Zoste, the Patriarch, the Nobilissimus, the Kouropalates, and the Basileopator were the only members of court who were allowed to sit at the emperor's table.[28] Though Constantine does not say that Ol'ga had been granted the title of Zoste, we must remember that his purpose here is only to record the ceremony at the banquet; and judging from the latter and the words "according to the prescribed order" (κατὰ τὸν

[26] See fn. 20.

[27] Ἄρχων (fem. ἀρχόντισσα) τῆς Ῥωσίας was the title prescribed for addressing the rulers of Rus' in imperial correspondence (*De Caerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, p. 691, 1), but in Byzantine Greek this word simply means nobleman/woman. R. Guilland appears to be the only one who has understood this passage correctly, in his "Contribution à l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: La patricienne à ceinture," *Byzantinoslavica* 32 (1971): 271.

[28] About the office of Zoste, see Guilland, "Contribution," and N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 293. The *Kleitorologion* (Banquet-book) of Philotheus (899) is the source for the seating of the Zoste at the imperial table: ibid, p. 137, 5–7.

τύπον), it would appear that she must have been granted the title. Not only did Ol'ga sit at the imperial table with the Zostai, but she also did less than the ordinary prostration of reverence (προσκύνησις) before the empress, another privilege of the Zoste.[29] The granting of this title to Ol'ga would fit nicely with Byzantine practice in the case of two roughly contemporary female members of the Bulgarian imperial house. Ca. 995, the daughter of Tsar Samuel, Miroslava, who had fled from her father to Constantinople with her Byzantine husband, was given the title of Zoste by Basil II; and in 1018, upon the death of Samuel's successor Vladislav, his widow Maria received the same title from Basil.[30] Furthermore, let us remember that Skylitzes recounts that Ol'ga was "fittingly honored" (ἀξίως τιμηθεῖσα) as a reward for her religious conviction.[31] Now, τιμᾶν was a technical term for the granting of a noble title, and this is in fact the very word Skylitzes uses in his account of Basil's bestowal of the title of Zoste upon Miroslava and Maria of Bulgaria. Perhaps Constantine VII had initiated the policy of granting this title to the female members of allied ruling houses—a foreshadowing of the entry of Rus' into the Byzantine Commonwealth. In any event, Ol'ga could hardly have taken such an important part in a Byzantine ceremony if she had been a pagan at the time.

Perhaps even more important for our discussion than the official status accorded to Ol'ga on this visit is the apparent closeness of her relationship with the empress and the imperial family. We have already drawn attention to the session in the palace and the dessert in the Aristeterion on the 9th of September, but the banquet on the 18th of October is yet more telling. On that day the emperor again dined with the male members of the embassy from Rus', whilst Ol'ga dined with the empress and her children and Theophano in the Pentakouboukleion, or Five Chambers. This building, like the Kainourgios where Ol'ga had been accommodated on the previous occasion, was very near the empress's private apartments, and within it there were oratories dedicated to St. Paul and St. Barbara.[32] This scene presents anything but a pagan Ol'ga. Rather, it is suggestive of a godmother receiving a goddaughter in the intimacy of her family.

29 Concerning the act of προσκύνησις, see R. Guilland, "Autour du Livre des Cérémonies: La προσκύνησις," *Revue des études grecques* 49–50 (1946–47): 251–59. In the description of the investiture of a Zoste in *De Caerimoniis* (ed. Reiske, p. 259, 12–15), it is explained that the latter does not prostrate herself to the floor as others do because of the awkwardness of her attire (in particular, the *loros*): cf. Guilland, "Autour," p. 254.

30 Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, pp. 342, 60 (Miroslava) and 364, 64 (Maria).

31 See fn. 3.

32 Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, pp. 147, 1–2 and 335, 8–14. The Pentakouboukleion adjoined the Kainourgios through a porch: again one wonders whether Ol'ga was lodged in the Kainourgios.

Lastly, though perhaps most importantly, we must call attention to the presence of the priest Gregory in Ol'ga's entourage. A pagan Ol'ga would surely not have retained the services of a priest. Gregory's presence has led some to conclude that Ol'ga had already been baptized before she came to Constantinople, presumably in Kiev; and it has been suggested that Gregory was her confessor.[33] Of course, we cannot be sure. But Ol'ga might just as well have brought along a priest if she had come to the imperial city with the intention of being baptized. Although the Book of Ceremonies says nothing about a baptism, nevertheless, as we have seen, Ol'ga must have been a Christian to take part in the ceremonies of the 9th of September. Seeing that *all* the other sources affirm that she was baptized in Constantinople, it seems gratuitous to argue for Kiev. We must assume, then, that Ol'ga was baptized either on a visit prior to the one mentioned in *De Caerimoniis*, perhaps ca. 955 as the Slavonic tradition maintains, or else—and this seems more likely to me, since Skylitzes records only one visit—during this same visit, but before her formal reception at the palace. The baptism was presumably performed by the patriarch, as the *PVL* records; and what better occasion could there have been than the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, celebrated with great pomp in Constantinople by the emperor and patriarch, on the 8th of September?[34]

We have not been concerned here with the political ramifications of Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople, but let us remark briefly in conclusion that by her conversion to Christianity, probable baptism in Constantinople, and certain acceptance there in 957 of a Byzantine noble title, Ol'ga must have intended to build a closer alliance between Rus' and Byzantium than that provided for in the treaties of 907 and 945. Not only did Ol'ga bring along fifteen of her relations, six female and nine male, in addition to the twenty-odd representatives (viz. apocrisarioi) of the various other princes of Rus', but Constantine counts nearly twice as many merchants in her entourage than are enumerated in the *PVL*'s account of the treaty of 945.[35] It would appear that the Byzantine government treated Ol'ga in a "fitting manner," to

[33] Cf. Ostrogorsky, "Vizantija," pp. 1463–64; Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands*, p. 79.

[34] Description in *De Caerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 1:20, 30–26, 21. After the services in Saint Sophia there was a banquet in the Triclinium of Justinian II, described by Philotheus, ed. Oikonomidès, p. 223, 8–16. The patriarch at the time was Polyeuct (956–970), for whom Constantine had conceived an intense dislike: cf. Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, pp. 244, 5–9; 246, 66–247, 76.

[35] Twenty-four representatives (no members of the princely families!) and twenty-six merchants in 945 (*PVL*, ed. Müller, p. 46), compared with Ol'ga's fifteen relations (including the nephew), twenty-two apocrisarioi (twenty in attendance on the 9th of September), and forty-four merchants (forty-three in attendance on the 9th of September), along with various other retainers enumerated by Constantine.

use Skylitzes's words; Constantine granted her a first-rate title. Something went wrong, however. Ol'ga must have changed her mind. The *PVL* relates, again surely with no little exaggeration of detail, that she snubbed a Byzantine embassy sent to her upon her return to Kiev. The envoys whom she sent to Otto I in 959 requested a Western bishop for Rus': Adalbert himself was the second of the two German bishops dispatched to Kiev. But he returned in failure in 962.[36] Ol'ga's regency was not to see the entry of Rus' into Christendom; this was reserved for the reign of her grandson.

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[36] See fn. 4.

Self-Definition and Decentering: Ševčenko's "Xiba samomu napysat'" and the Question of Writing

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In an earlier article on Ševčenko I broached the question of his symbolic autobiography and the general process of his self-definition as a poet, and examined what I believed was a central nexus for this. In it, I argued that the long poem *Trizna* (1843) "culminates the theme of the paradoxically solitary and mute bard who, like Perebendja, speaks only with nature. . . and heralds the Promethean theme and the tribunicial stance of the poetry that follows."[1] While I still hold this notion—of that threshold and, generally, of stages in Ševčenko's poetic development—to be valid, the implied assumption of a moment of definitive self-designation now seems overly optimistic. The thematic and conceptual structures, specifically of the poet as a preternaturally chosen carrier of the Word, do appear as discrete forces, and, in the overarching scheme of his poetry, they do leave an indelible imprint. But the psychological ground, the actual matter on and in which they work, seems disconcertingly fluid. From his very earliest writings, but with a particular intensity in his mature poetry, Ševčenko continually presents himself, his feelings and emotions, perceptions and self-assessments in a heightened state of flux; just as his poetry's system of values unequivocally elevates the affective over the rational, so the discourse of the poetry, and particularly the presentation of the self, seems largely to disregard the logical and the linear and always to sidestep the definitive. Negation, reversal, and then further negation, contradiction and self-contradiction are the very essence of his discourse. There is never a thing, an attitude, or a belief, but a concatenation of responses to it, a force field. In light of this, Ševčenko appears as a remarkably modern poet, articulating a sense of the contingency of existence, and of its absurdity, that few if any of his contemporaries—certainly none in Ukrainian or in Russian literature—come close to perceiving, and which tends to place him more in the twentieth than the nineteenth century.

[1] George G. Grabowicz, "The Nexus of the Wake: Ševčenko's *Trizna*," *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* (= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 [1979-1980]) (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), pt. 1, p. 345 .

An inevitable consequence of this existential precocity, and directly proportionate to it, was the opaqueness, at times the virtual invisibility, of major features of his poetry for the convention- and tradition-bound reader and critic. Thus, if the essentially decentered nature of Ševčenko's poetry was at all recognized, it was through the keyhole of irony, or Romantic irony. Thus, too, the very force of Ševčenko's presence, the immediacy and uniqueness of his voice—coupled, to be sure, with the (then and now) all-pervasive cultural paradigm that saw literature as but a surrogate for political action—led to the broad conviction that his poetry was a repository (albeit an "artistic" one) if not of outright injunctions then of profound but ultimately unambiguous cultural and historical and indeed political messages. The general critical consensus that Ševčenko's poetry must be probed or simply culled for such or other "views"[2] left little room for the realization that such "views," given the very nature of this poetry, cannot be made meaningful but in and through the mythic code in which they are imbedded. The further step of examining the poetry not in terms of a linear and teleological rhetoric but as a primarily self-referential discourse, as an essentially ambivalent self-creation and self-effacement, was neither contemplated nor attempted.

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It is also hardly surprising that the primary ground on which this simultaneous creation/effacing or assertion/questioning occurs is that of writing, that is, in the actual, in effect thematic, realization of the poet-as-writer. The multifaceted duality of Ševčenko is expressed most immanently perhaps in the ambivalence of his self-chosen role as carrier of the Word, as prophet, which, as I have argued, devolves into both apotheosis and curse.[3] That role, however, can always be seen as but that—a stance, a goal and ideal, a

[2] Paradigmatic of this are such publications as *Istoryčni pohljady T. H. Ševčenka*, I. O. Huržij et. al., eds. (Kiev, 1964), or, even more reductively and mendaciously, I. D. Nazarenko's *Obščestvenno-političeskie, filosofskie, èstetičeskie i ateističeskie vzgljady T. G. Ševčenko* (Moscow, 1961). The paradigm remains firmly in place to this day; cf. *T. H. Ševčenko: Bibliohrafičnyj pokažčyk, 1965–1988* (Kiev, 1989). On the pragmatic level—both in critical practice, and especially in the domain of public discourse—this is reflected in a relentless citation mania: inexorably and without exception Ševčenko is presented only through a narrowly circumscribed, and now highly canonic repertoire of culled lines. Such an illustrative approach is inevitable and normal for the legacy of culture heroes, but the degree to which it has supplemented reference to and examination of the contextual units—individual works, cycles or clusters, the corpus as a whole—is remarkable. Broadly speaking, this is, of course, a facet of the ritualization of the Ševčenko reception—and as such it deserves special attention.

[3] Cf. my *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Ševčenko* (Cambridge, 1982), passim, and "Nexus of the Wake."

strategy of self-projection and self-definition. Here we are dealing with something eminently concrete and as palpable psychologically as it is physically: the writing itself. In his recurrent and relatively extensive focus on this, Ševčenko is again remarkably modern and curiously prescient in the way he inscribes himself, into the contemporary theoretical prioritization of *l'écriture*.

The theme of writing, the depiction of the "writing situation," of the set of feelings, the hopes, fears, and tensions that occasion and directly accompany the act of writing, is fairly discrete in Ševčenko's poetry.[4] As a metathematic presence, a heightened self-consciousness (that resonates with the self-absorption of his insistent self-portraits, and which generally tends to draw all his works into an autobiographic whole), it extends from the early "Dumy moji, dumy moji" (1839) to his very last poem, "Čy ne pokynut' nam, neboho" (1861). But as a more explicit set and focus it is largely concentrated in the intensely personal and largely confessional poetry of the period of his arrest and first years of exile (i.e., 1847–1850), which is textually coterminous with the so-called Small Book ("Mala knyžka").[5] Given the fact that as part of his sentence Ševčenko was officially forbidden to write (and to paint), this poetry was contraband—and the format of the notebooks was expressly designed for easy concealment in the author's boot top (hence, too, the traditional name, *zaxaljavni knyžečky*, or *zaxaljavna poezija*). The notion of "bootleg poetry," however, can hardly convey the radically antipodal, self-negating semiotics of the creative *context*, of the writing situation, of this poetry: the innermost confession that in the eyes of the law is criminal, the labor of love (and Ševčenko's painstakingly neat formatting of the book is but a physical manifestation of this) that serves to narrate a life of anguished solitude and deprivation.

Not all the poems of the "Small Book," of course, are focused on or marked by the fact of writing. But implicitly this structure dominates, or, at the very least, serves to organize the narrative space of the collection. On the one hand it does so by virtue of dramatic-formal highlighting: each of the fascicles of the book is introduced by a poem focused on writing.

4 Given the operant paradigms (the teleological, the ideological, echoes of nineteenth-century normative poetics, radical anti-psychological attitudes—to name but the major ones) we should be prepared for the fact that "writing" does not at all figure as a catagory or theme in the Ševčenko studies to date; cf. *T. H. Ševčenko: Bibliohrafija literatury pro žyttja i tvorčist', 1839–1959*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1963), *T. H. Ševčenko: Bibliohrafija juvilejnoji literatury, 1960–1964* (Kiev, 1965), or the *Bibliohrafičnyj pokažčyk, 1965–1988*, noted above.

5 The "Mala knyžka" actually consists of four hand-made small octavo notebooks (for each of the years in question—1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850) which Ševčenko subsequently combined (with some inadvertant transpositions), paginated, and sewed together. Cf. Taras Ševčenko, *Mala knyžka: Avtohrafy poezij 1847–1850 rr.* (Kiev, 1966), pp. iii–[xxviii].

"Dumy moji, dumy moji," the incipit for 1847 and putatively for the whole collection, is the most general; clearly echoing his 1839 poem, almost as its new, more sombre and more lapidary variant, it turns to the broad question of making poetry. The other ones, however—"A numo znovu viršuvat'" (1848), "Nenače stepom čumaky" (1849), and "Liču v nevoli dni i noči" (1850)—are quite explicit in the way they function as a literal, musical, incipit. Thus:

А нумо знову віршувать.
Звичайне, нишком. Нумо знову,
Поки новинка на основі,
Старинку божу лицювать.
А сиріч. . . як би вам сказать,
Щоб не збрехавши. . . Нумо знову
Людей і долю проклинать. . .
(lines 1–7)

or:

Книжечки
Мережаю та начиняю
Таки віршами. Розважаю
Дурную голову свою
Та кайдани собі кую
(Як ці добродії дознають).
Та вже ж нехай хоч розіпнуть,
А я без вірші не улежу.
Уже два года промережав,
І третій в добрий час почну. . .
"Nenače stepom čumaky"
(lines 4–13)

or finally:

І четвертий рік минає
Тихенько, поволі,
І четверту начинаю
Книжечку в неволі
Мережати,—змережаю
Кров'ю та сльозами
Моє горе на чужині,
Бо горе словами
Не розкажеться нікому
Ніколи, ніколи,
Нігде нá світі! Нема слов
В далекій неволі!
Немає слов, немає сльоз,

Немає нічого.
Нема навіть кругом тебе
Великого Бога!

"Liču v nevoli dni i noči"
(lines 13–28)

The second means for signaling this function is explicitly dramatic. It occurs, for example, in "Moskaleva krynycja'" (the 1847 version), where the opening dialogue between the two personages (in effect, narrative voices) is discretely focused on how to tell, or, actually, how to write down, the story.[6] Similarly, this is conveyed by significant, if at times brief, passages on writing in such works as the long poem "Maryna" (1848), where it appears in the opening lines, in "A. O. Kozačkovs'komu" (1847), "Zarosly šljaxy ternamy" (1849), and others.

And there is yet a third, seemingly paradoxical but altogether revealing, form of highlighting (and ultimately privileging) the theme of writing: erasure. At issue is the following. After his release from exile (in August 1857) but before arriving in St. Petersburg, during an enforced wait in Nižnij Novgorod, Ševčenko worked intensely on preparing an edition of his exile poetry. To this end he began in February 1858 a new manuscript book, of a larger format (crown octavo), now known as the "Bil'ša knyžka" (the Larger Book), into which he recopied various poems from the "Mala knyžka" and into which, virtually until his death, he continued to inscribe finished versions of his poems. The manner of transposition, of the way texts move or do not move from the "smaller" to the "larger" book is most telling.[7] On the one hand, Ševčenko copied about eighty texts, some with few or no emendations, but many with very significant changes. (For some of these, like the long poem "Moskaleva krynycja," which can serve as a paradigm here, or the short lyric "Liču v nevoli dni i noči," the changes are so far-reaching that by general consensus the two versions are considered and presented as distinct, separate poems. The principles for making such distinctions, however, cannot be drawn solely from general textological practice, but must take into account the highly specific nature of Ševčenko's creativity; given the fact that this creativity—its symbolic and

[6] Cf. my "Variations on Duality: Ševčenko's 'Moskaleva krynycja'," forthcoming in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

[7] Cf. Je. S. Šabliovs'kyj's introduction to Ševčenko, *Mala knyžka: Avtohrafy poezij 1847–1850 rr.*, pp. iii–[xxviii], and his introduction to Taras Ševčenko, *Avtohrafy poezij 1847–1860 rr.* (Kiev, 1963), pp. iii–[ix]. Cf. also V. S. Borodin, "Do istoriji tekstu 'Maloji knyžky' T. H. Ševčenka," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1976, no. 2, pp. 71–83, and the respective entries on the "Mala knyžka" and "Bil'ša knyžka" in *Ševčenkivs'kyj slovnyk*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1976).

psychological structures, its coding—is still barely known, the essential question of the *variant* and the final text must be considered open and in need of fundamental rethinking.)[8] On the other hand, Ševčenko neglected to transfer to the "Bil'ša knyžka" about forty-three texts. According to the conventional wisdom of the critics, one has to assume that these poems were considered by Ševčenko to be either inferior to the ones he emended and included in the "Bil'ša knyžka," or, more plausibly, that he felt that they could not pass by the censor's watchful eye and heavy hand.[9]

The argument regarding quality is singularly unpersuasive: among the forty-three texts there are such excellent long poems as "Tytarivna," "Maryna," "Sotnyk," "Son (Hory moji vysokiji)," and "U Vil'ni horodi preslavnim," such essential anthology pieces as "Meni trynadcjatyj mynalo," "Jakby vy znaly panyči," and "U nedilen'ku u svjatuju," and such highly personal and revealing and polished lyrics as "Ne tak tiji vorohy," "I znov meni ne pryvezla," "Dobro u koho je hospoda," "I vyris ja na čužyni," or "Nu ščob zdavalosja slova." For its part the argument regarding censorship is in fact one of self-censorship—and with Ševčenko, whether at this or another juncture, it is difficult to demonstrate. The poems transcribed from the "Mala knyžka" to the "Bil'ša knyžka" are hardly (politically or socially) more acceptable ("blahonadijni"); and, given the later poems that are inscribed in it (be it "Neofity" [1857], "Tym nesytym očam" [1860], or "Himn černečyj" [also 1860]), the "Bil'ša knyžka" could hardly expect to pass through censorship intact.

There is, however, a readily apparent, if not hard-edged, principle determining this erasure-by-exclusion. Taken generally, the poems of the "Mala knyžka" that are not transcribed into the "Bil'ša knyžka" are the poems that present with a particular intensity Ševčenko's feelings of anguish and solitude, alienation and anger and despair. They do not recount, they do not narrate these feelings—they explode with them. As striking as the unprecedented intensity of these feelings is the no less powerful sense of impending death, of a void into which he, the poet, and everything he feels and creates will inevitably disappear. This profound and transcendant sense of

8 As with so many aspects of official Soviet thought, the operant model here has been teleological, and the movement from the "Mala knyžka" to the "Bil'ša knyžka" seen largely in terms of "improvements." A typically reductive and dogmative treatment is found in Je. O. Nenadkevyč's *Z tvorčoji laboratoriji T. H. Ševčenka: Redakcijna robota nad tvoramy 1847–1858 rr.* (Kiev, 1959). The pattern of changes he sees is that of greater revolutionism, realism, materialism, anti-religiosity, and so on; cf. pp. 220–23 and passim.

9 Thus, for example, "Neofity" appeared in the journal *Osnova* (1862, no. 4) with considerable deletions by the censor. Such poems as "Tym nesytym očam (1860) and "Himn černečyj" (1860) were first published abroad, in the 1876 Prague *Kobzar*. Cf. also V. S. Borodin, *T. H. Ševčenko i cars'ka cenzura: Doslidžennja i dokumenty 1840–1862 roky* (Kiev, 1969).

death appears as a universal theme in such poems as "Čuma" (1848) or "U Boha za dvermy ležala sokyra" (1848). (In symbolically charged and dramatic narrative it appears as murder or parricide, for example in "U tijeji Kateryny" [1848] or "U Vil'ni horodi preslavnim" [1848]. It also appears, by analogy to the poet's fate, in the putatively historical "Zastupyla čorna xmara" [1848] that narrates the apocryphal story of Hetman Dorošenko's exile and solitary death.)[10] In its purest form, however, it emerges in the lyrical, confessional mode, as in the already cited "Liču v nevoli dni i noči" (1850), which takes the catalogue of absence,

Немає слов, немає сльоз,
Немає нічого.
Нема навіть кругом тебе
Великого Бога!
(lines 25–28)

and turns it inward, into despair and prayer:

Жить не хочеться на світі, волочити
А сам мусиш жити.
Мушу, мушу, а для чого?
Щоб не губить душу?
Не варт вона того жалю. . .
. . .
Дай дожити, подивитись,
О Боже мій милий!
На лани тії зелені
І тії могили!
А не даси, то донеси
На мою країну
Мої сльози; бо я, Боже!
Я за неї гину!
. . .
Донеси ж, мій Боже милий!
Або хоч надію
Пошли в душу. . .
(lines 31–35, 53–60, and 65–67)

And the only response is indeed to hope—and to write:

А може тихо за літами
Мої мережані сльозами
І долетять коли-небудь

[10] Cf. in O. Ivankin's comments on Ševčenko's very loose reliance on history here, *Komentar do 'Kobzarja' Ševčenka: Poeziji 1847–1861 rr.* (Kiev, 1968), pp. 151–60.

На Україну... і падуть,
Неначе роси над землею,
На щире серце молодеє
Сльозами тихо упадуть!
. . .
Нехай як буде, так і буде...
. . .
А я таки мережать буду
Тихенько білії листи.
(lines 77–83, 88 and 91–92)

Why then the erasure? Why is the very thing that keeps the poet alive rejected, deleted by him? Before attempting to answer one should note that "erasure" as it appears here is not a hyperbole or only a metaphor. For apart from not including some of his very best works in his apparent plans for a future volume, Ševčenko also actively crossed out passages or whole poems while working on the "Mala knyžka." While the deletion or reworking of individual passages is indeed in a number of instances—but hardly always—an artistic improvement,[11] the crossing-out of whole poems is much less intelligible, especially since these, while few in number, constitute some of Ševčenko's most revealing works. Apart from the already mentioned "U Vil'ni horodi preslavnim" and "Nu ščob zdavalosja slova," these are "Čy to nedolja ta nevolja," "Syči," "O dumy moji! o slavo zlaja," and "Xiba samomu napysat'." Without their existence (especially the simply superb "Nu ščob zdavalosja slova," "Čy to nedolja ta nevolja," and "Xiba samomu napysat' ") our understanding of Ševčenko, of his complexity, would be gravely impaired—and yet he himself crossed these works out (although he did not destroy them).

The answer, it seems, is not to be found in speculation about the poet's intentions. (The one traditional version—that after exile Ševčenko regained his equanimity and hence "toned down" his earlier despondency—merely trivializes the issue.)[12] What is required, rather, is an analysis of the actual textual movement between assertion and doubt, creation and erasure—and the role that writing plays along this interface. "Xiba samomu napysat'," one of Ševčenko's best and most elusive poems, and yet one he crossed out,

[11] The question of deleted passages is part of the larger and highly complex issue of Ševčenko's variants. While some, like the ending of "Černec'," were justifiably removed for artistic reasons, others, like the passages in "A. O. Kozačkovs'komu," or the whole passage on poetry in "A numo znovu viršuvat' " (cf. below), create new variants, which make the same basic claim to autonomy as do the already accepted variants of, say, "Liču v nevoli dni i noči."

[12] While this is generally and officially propounded in Soviet scholarship, it also exists in the non-Soviet version. Cf. Pavlo Zajcev's *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka* (see fn. 33, below).

is clearly a key here:

Хіба самóму написать
Таки посланіє до себе
Та все дочиста розказать,
Усе, що треба, що й не треба.
А то не діждешся його,
Того писанія святого,
Святої правди ні од кóго,
Та й ждать немаю од когó,
Бо вже б, здавалося, пора:
Либонь, уже десяте літо,
Як людям дав я "Кобзаря",
А їм неначе рот зашито,
Ніхто й не гавкне, не лайне,
Неначе й не було мене.
Не похвали собі, громадо!—
Без неї може обійдусь,—
А ради жду собі, поради!
Та мабуть в яму перейду
Із москалів, а не діждусь!
Мені, було, аж серце мліло,—
Мій Боже милий! як хотілось,
Щоб хто-небудь мені сказав
Хоч слово мудре; щоб я знав,
Для кого я пишу? для чого?
За що я Вкраїну люблю?
Чи варт вона огня святого?. . .
Бо хоч зостаріюсь затого,
А ще не знаю, що роблю.
Пишу собі, щоб не міняти
Часа святого так на так,
Та іноді старий козак
Верзеться грішному, усатий,
З своєю волею мені
На чорнім вороні-коні!
А більш нічого я не знаю,
Хоч я за це і пропадаю
Тепер в далекій стороні.
Чи доля так оце зробила?
Чи мати Богу не молилась,
Як понесла мене? Що я—
Неначе лютая змія
Розтоптана в степу здихає,
Захода сонця дожидає.

Отак-то я тепер терплю,
Та смерть із степу виглядаю,
А за що, єй-богу, не знаю!
А все-таки її люблю,
Мою Україну широку,
Хоч я по їй і одинокий
(Бо, бачте, пари не найшов)
Аж до погибелі дійшов.

Нічого, друже, не журися!
В дулевину себе закуй,
Гарненько Богу помолися,
А на громаду хоч наплюй!
Вона—капуста головата.
А втім, як знаєш, пане-брате,
Не дурень, сам собі міркуй.

Seen from the overall formal perspective, the poem is a curious, and for Ševčenko quite characteristic, conflation of two different modes—the monologic and the dialogic; what begins as a confessional monologue (lines 1–51) becomes, through the last seven lines, a dialogue, a discussion with the preceding, or more precisely, a suspension, a re-statement of the argument. This shift comes unannounced and at the very end contributes to a certain disorientation for the reader: what had just seemed evident and knowable becomes opaque. Self-revelation, seemingly built on the bedrock of emotional intensity, becomes deferred, and that bedrock turns into sand. Characteristically (and essentially) this is conveyed by a shift of voice: not just the meaning but the tone and the personality behind it becomes different (and this, of course, establishes a true shift of meaning). The question of voice is indeed central, and to this I shall return. For the moment, however, one can again note that while at heart such a dialogic cast obtains in all of Ševčenko's work, it is particularly resonant in the exile poetry by virtue of its pronounced self-referential focus, its dramatization of the writing situation. As in the first (1847) "Moskaleva krynycja," the dialogue is about writing, with the difference that there it was about how to write and here it is on why and whether.

But this is the larger picture, which is apprehended only at the end, or upon rereading. A sense of an inner dialogue, more precisely of opposition and negation, comes from the narrative, and from the very outset. Beginning with the paradox of the opening two lines—the opening decision to write an epistle to oneself (which "decision" is itself in a way suspended given the interrogatory, modal, and expressive polysemy of the particle "xiba")—the text proceeds relentlessly to pile up negation upon negation,

reversal upon reversal. Thus: the task of telling-confessing "everything" (*dočysta*)—but with the addressee still being oneself [3];* in the very next line this "everything" is qualified as "all that is necessary" and "all that is not necessary" [4]. Further, the proposition that one should write now, since there is no point in waiting any longer [5], is negated by the assertion that there is no one from whom to accept a letter [8]. (In fact this is a double negation: there is no one *available* for this mission of mercy, to send the "holy truth" [7], *and* there is no one who *will* do this [8].) Further still, in ever-expanding gyres of self-analysis, the negation involves his sense of abandonment (he gave his countrymen his poetry, his *Kobzar*, and now no one will even "bark" at him or berate him—as if he did not even exist [10–14]); his claim that he does not want praise but advice and council [15–23]; the series of agonizing questions and doubts as to why he writes at all [24–34]; his sense of his doomed existence, lasting from before his birth to his impending death [35–51]; to, at last, the final coda [51–58] where, in a different voice, he decenters it all and prepares the ground to start another, similar cycle.

The language of the poem, again still on the formal-grammatical level, is remarkably saturated with the lexicon of opposition, of doubt, questioning, and, above all, negation. Thus in the poem's fifty-eight lines there are four explicit expressions of doubt ("xiba" [1], "lybon' " [10], "mabut' " [9] and [18]); six explicit questions (two in [24], and [25], [26], [38], and [39]); nine formulations of logical opposition ("xoč" [23, 27, 36, 49, and 55], "bo"/"jak" [9/11], "vse-taky" [47], "a vtim" [57], and "ne"/"a" [15/17]); and twenty-six negations ("ne" [4, 5, 8, twice in 13, 14, 15, 19, 28, 29, 35, 39, 46, 50, 52, and 58], "a" [5, 12, 19, 28, 35, 46, and 55], as well as "ni" [7], "nixto" [13], and "bez" [16]). If one were to add the three usages of "nenače" [12, 14, and 41] as clear instances of "doubtful" or "inadequate" comparisons,[13] it comes out that forty-eight of fifty-eight lines, virtually five-sixths of them, express negation, doubt, or opposition, or, more generally, decentering.

As deeply rooted as it is in language, this tendency always to shift the center, to take the seemingly solid and reveal its fluidity and inadequacy, is something that transcends language. Its basic function is to show that ultimately—even while it remains a fundamental, and for the poet the only, tool—language itself is inadequate to the task of mirroring the flow of the

* Here and below, the numbers in square brackets refer to lines of "Xiba samomu napysat'."

13 Cf. *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy*, vol. 5 [N–O] (Kiev, 1974), p. 343. The third meaning of "nenače," as expressing "incomplete verisimilitude, doubt, lack of confidence, etc. in the expressed proposition," is illustrated precisely by examples taken from Ševčenko.

mind, of feeling and cognition. Ševčenko, seemingly uniquely among his nineteenth-century contemporaries, is consumed by this awareness, most evidently in his exile poetry where, under the intense workings of solitude and feelings of abandonment, the weight of the poet-prophet's calling and curse, the poetry, as in a crucible, is transformed into a new, transcendant value.

The first step in this direction (and the movement, in fact, is not diachronic but internal and spiritual) is to establish a coincidence of oppositions, where poetry is shown to be at once a task that is holy and profane. The already cited opening lines of "A numo znovu viršuvat'," with their conflation of "reworking God's record" and "cursing people and fate" do this quite obliquely. In "Ne hrije sonce na čužyni" the juxtaposition of praying and cursing (clearly still with reference to poetic activity) is immediate and, for all its irony, programmatic:

Мені невесело було
Й на нашій славній Україні.
Ніхто любив мене, вітав,
І я хилився ні до кого,
Блукав собі, молився Богу
Та люте панство проклинав.
(lines 3–8)

In this same vein, a basic value can turn into its very opposite. Thus, in "N. N. (O dumy moji! o slavo zlaja)," as noted above, a poem of the "Mala knyžka" he crossed out but later rewrote as "Slava" in 1858, he speaks of his fame—which in fact is the concomitant of his poetry!—both as a "faithful wife" and as a whore. In "Mov za podušne, ostupyly" (1848) the coincidence/opposition is presented most succinctly through the device of rhyming "writing" with "sinning" (*pyšu / hrišu*):

Боже милий,
Де ж заховатися мені?
Що діяти? Уже й гуляю
По цім Аралу; і пишу.
Віршую нищечком, грішу,
Бог зна колишнії случаї
В душі своїй перебираю
Та списую. . .
(lines 3–10)

Or, again, in "Dolja" (1858), even while beginning the poem with "Ty ne lukavyla zo mnoju," he still turns to his fate (with his life's course in mind) with the accusation, "A ty zbrexala," only to exonerate her in lines that are now taken as the very essence of Ševčenko's self-assessment:

—Учися, серденько, колись
З нас будуть люде,—ти сказала.
А я й послухав, і учивсь,
І вивчився. А ти збрехала.
Які з нас люде? Та дарма!
Ми не лукавили з тобою,
Ми просто йшли; у нас нема
Зерна неправди за собою.
(lines 7–14)

The conflation of opposites (of poetry as praying/cursing, of the poet as simultaneously apotheized and damned) is but the narrower case. Ultimately, within the force field of poetic perception everything can be turned into its opposite, suspended, decentered. Two striking images of this occur in the exile poems. In the retrospective, nostalgic "My vkupočci kolys' rosly" (1849), the poet imagines returning to his village and seeing the graves of his parents in a dark and cool orchard and the tilted time-worn crosses on them

. . . в садочку
Лежать собі у холодочку,
Мов у раю, мої старі.
Хрести дубові посхилялись,
Слова дощем позамивались . . .

and then adds these remarkable lines:

І не дощем, і не слова
Гладесенько Сатурн стирає . . .
(lines 30–36)

The image is entirely motivated—time effaces everything, and not only words and not only with rain—but the message is systemic and profound: everything in the poetry, its very stuff, *words*, can be shown to have a double bottom. In "Liču v nevoli dni i noči" (the companion piece to "Xiba samomu napysat' "), in its reworked 1858 version, the movement is in the opposite direction. Just as everything in the poetry can be melted by its forces into different shapes, so, too, when the poetic gaze is directed at surrounding reality, everything can appear as the penned script of a secret, higher code:

Каламутними болотами,
Меж бур'янами, за годами
Три года сумно протекли.
Багато дечого взяли
З моєї темної комори
І в море нишком однесли.

І нищком проковтнуло море
Моє не злато-серебро,
Мої літа, моє добро,
Мою нудьгу, мої печалі,
Тії незримії скрижалі,
Незримим писані пером.
(lines 13–24)

The image is archetypical in its power and in its open-endedness: time, grief, consciousness all become an invisible text. The text, Ševčenko seems to be saying, is everywhere, and everything his mind touches becomes a text.

In "Xiba samomu napysat'" the key to the text is its self-revelation, a self-baring that in contrast to the imagery of the above-mentioned poems develops its argument through a highly rhetorical mode. On the one hand, as we have seen, it is based on grammatical and syntactic features. On the other, it appears through an alternation of semantic and value-charged moments. In effect, the narrative proceeds like an internal dialogue or polemic through a series of polar reversals. Thus, this is at first [1–4] the *topos* of an "epistle" and the positive assertion of the need to write, even if it is a letter to oneself, saying "everything and nothing"; it is followed by the negative realization that there is only silence on the other end [5–14], which culminates with the horror that as a result one is simply erased out of existence ("nenače j ne bulo mene" [14]).

This, in turn, is followed by an evocation of the positive *topos* of council and support ("rad[a]," "porad[a]," "slovo mudre") that is interwoven, however, with recurring feelings of hopelessness and doubt [15–28]. In response to the ultimate of these, which is perhaps the fundamental leitmotif of Ševčenko's exile poetry—"Bo xoč zostarijus' zatoho/ A ščе ne znaju, ščo roblju"—he does find solace, precisely in his writing: "pyšu sobi." This passage [29–34], bracketed, as it were, between two emphatic negations (the "ne znaju" of [28] and [35]), is unquestionably subdued (writing is depicted as "scribbling" ["pyšu *sobi*"], the imagination as empty fantasizing ["verzet'sja"]), but its positive charge is unmistakable, and, for all its understatement, the writing of poetry is still shown as coterminous with "sacred time" [30]. And then again a resurgence of self-doubt and self-negation. With its images of suffering and death, and an overarching curse over his life, the next passage (again bracketed by the "ne znaju" of [35] and [46]) is the nadir in his self-assessment. The response to it [47–51] is minimally positive, being simply an assertion in the face of his overwhelming adversity, of his love for Ukraine: "A vse-taky jiji ljublju,/Moju Ukra-

jinu šyroku."[14] But this assertion is tempered, in fact all but diluted [49–51], by his sense (foreshadowing the above-cited sentiments of "Dolja") that this love had been betrayed (in effect, unrequited), that no love was shown him, that his world was always a solitary desert, and that ultimately (as in *Trizna*) he was always an exile [49–51]. Existentially this is the *ne plus ultra*; beyond this the argument has nowhere to go.

And yet Ševčenko decenters this as well. For the final coda [52–58] is an ironic *volte-face* that reveals a different voice and a different perspective: its counterpoint emerges not as yet another linear reversal but as a negation and debunking of the discourse itself. Most revealing, it does so with a curious overdetermination, with an adumbrating injunction for self-defense and self-healing in each of its first four lines ("... ne žurysja," "... sebe zakuj," "... pomolysja," and "... napljuj"), and with the fifth [56] serving as a dismissive characterization ("Vona—kapusta holovata") of that very community from which he craved recognition and support. The final two lines, however, suspend this as well and provide not an injunction-answer but an injunction-question. In fact, his voice says, the community might *not* be a collective "cabbage-head," and the whole exercise *may* have been worthwhile. At the end, the whole experience is bracketed once more—and left open-ended.

The dialogue on the level of rhetoric and feeling is recapitulated, with further ramifications, on the level of structural symbolic oppositions whose interplay, moreover, is considerably more complex. At its most basic this is the opposition of the poet and the community, the *hromada*, (to which he explicitly refers: [15] and [55]; cf also "ljud[y]" [11]). Like ripples spreading on a once-calm surface, other oppositions and tensions are generated. Characteristically, they develop their own dynamics and turbulences, so that in the end the initial polarities are reversed and the final pattern, again, wholly decentered.

Thus, the basic opposition of the poet and the community—which, more concretely, are both his readers ("... uže desjate lito, / Jak ljudjam dav ja 'Kobzarja' " [10–11]) and his interlocutors, those who should, but do not, write to him [5–8] or give him counsel ("... jak xotilos', / Ščob xto-nebud' meni skazav / Xoč slovo mudre" [21–23])—devolves into several interlocking oppositions: of writing and silence, of remembering and forgetting,

[14] It is worth noting that in the first draft of the poem the reference here and throughout lines 47–50 is to "svit" not "Ukrajina." While both are basically in the same semantic field, the shift from one to the other (apart from giving greater concreteness and emotional resonance) does suggest that the issue for Ševčenko here is the *action*—i. e., living or loving—rather than the object or setting, be it "Ukraine" or "the world."

of communicating and ignoring, of knowledge (the triad "rad[a]," "porad[a]," and "slovo mudre") and ignorance (emblematically the thrice stated "ne znaju"), of love and companionship and solitary suffering. In the course of this elaboration and diffusion, the initial polarity, as noted, is reversed. Most strikingly this is the transformation of the "hromada" from a source of support and wisdom to a "kapusta holovata" and something to be spat on. But this is the finale and in essence only the surface. In the course of the poem, as we have seen, doubt touches virtually each of the positive *topoi* in the poet's self-reflection. It touches not only his friends, their support, and constancy, in effect society as such, but also the very core of his strength, the touchstone of his life, Ukraine itself—both as ideal and ultimate value ("Čy vart vona ohnja svjatoho?") and as a concrete setting which withheld its love ("...ja po jij i odynokyj / (Bo, bačte, pary ne najšov) / Až do pohybeli dijšov").

The turbulence generated by these reversals is not pure chaos, however; in fact, from it a new, subtler order begins to appear, one that is based on deeper and more universal binary oppositions. These, too, are closely interconnected, imperceptibly shading off, one into the other. And, again, generally and cumulatively, they throw new and intense light on the basic question of writing.

The first and most overt of these is the opposition between the sacred and the profane. This duality, of course, is unvaryingly central to Ševčenko's sense of the world, and himself: just as throughout his poetry the surrounding reality is split, without mediation, into absolutized good and evil, so the self-image of the poet, regardless of whether it is in the exile poetry or before or after, is torn between his apotheosized divine calling and his fallen, indeed reprobate nature.[15] (The major modulation within this constant may be the fact that the exile poetry, as shown paradigmatically by "Čy to nedolja ta nevolja,"[16] and by the twin brackets of "Moskaleva krynycja," is particularly attuned to confessional self-baring and at first glance excessively harsh self-condemnation.) In "Xiba samomu napysat' " the domain of the sacred is profoundly and indeed programmatically stressed: the one adjective that is repeated more than any other is "holy" (i.e., "holy writing" [6], "holy truth" [7], "holy fire" [26], and "holy time" [30]).[17] This is further developed by the explicit references to prayer in [39] and [54].

[15] Cf. *The Poet as Mythmaker*, pp. 1–16 and passim, and "The Nexus of the Wake."

[16] Characteristically, this was one of the last poems Ševčenko was to write in exile (i.e., in 1850); it is also one of those he crossed out and did not inscribe in the "Bil'ša knyžka."

[17] Each reference, of course, emphatically adumbrates writing; cf. below.

The meaning of the sacred, however, and in fact the structure as such, arises only when its opposite is articulated. And here it is not simply the "profane" in the sense of the everyday, of the unholy (although it is that, too), but also the profane as the active opposite of the holy, in a word, as the malignant, as the accursed. The reference to the poet's "sinfulness" [32] bridges the two: on the one hand (and withal as a culturally standardized *topos*) it alludes to the sphere of the everyday, with its loneliness, tedium, and massive pettiness (which is anatomized in Ševčenko's *Diary* and shown in highlighted and distilled form in his exile poetry), and on the other it prepares the ground for the anguished question of whether he was cursed by God, even before birth, from his very conception [39–40], and for the arresting grim image of his impending death, like a crushed, poisonous snake in the desert, waiting for the sun to set [40–43]. As striking as the image may be, the feelings that underlie it, far from being unique to the poem, are the warp, so to speak, in the fabric of the poet's self-depiction during his exile. His sense—an angry and tormented mixture of irony, self-reproach and regret, and bitter bravado—that he is indeed (or "in deed") a criminal, a convict, an evildoer punished by society, is a central leitmotif in the lyrical-confessional poetry of this period. (As a narrative and symbolic presence it is most pronounced in both versions of "Moskaleva krynycja," and, in fact, in their synergistic interplay, in such poems as "Varnak" [1848], "Mež skalamy nenače zlodij" [1848], "Petrus'" [1850], and others, and, lest we forget the other mode of Ševčenko's creativity, in his series of paintings entitled "Parable of the Prodigal Son.") The peak of his self-laceration occurs in "Čy to nedolja ta nevolja," a poem in which he identifies his utter(!) moral degradation with his writing of wicked verse, and one which, as already noted, he also symbolically erased.[18] The power of this sense of moral culpability, of somehow deserving his punishment, simply cannot be ignored in the manner of the traditional and all-but-universal argument of Ševčenko scholarship, to wit, that the poet, obviously, was the political victim of a repressive autocratic regime, and that nothing further about *his* understanding of it need be said. In reality—and this poetry, this writing is born of reality, and the fact that Ševčenko also became the stuff of primers and political iconography is extrinsic if not altogether extraneous to it—the experience of socially sanctioned punishment, especially when it is unmediated by a consensual, let alone political, sense of a *cause* (and that, clearly, was still in the future),

[18] The question of writing-as-moral debauch (or, more accurately, writing-as-a-concomitant of moral downfall) has its psychological epicenter in this poem. It has a narrative development in various other works, however, including the prose, and it deserves separate attention.

cannot but be assimilated as guilt, and, in one degree or another, refracted as a form of self-loathing. The only alternatives, it would seem, are either obliviousness born of gross insensitivity or habitual asocial behavior (which hardly applies here), or denial and repression by way of psychic dissociation. But while Ševčenko himself—in "Iurodyvyj" (1857), above all—is willing to speak of his opposition to tyranny as a form of holy madness, in actual life the expedient of "madness," of blocking out extreme trauma by tuning out parts of his psyche, was not his course. Instead he integrates it into his creativity. To the same degree that he is torn by self-reproach and guilt and the pain of solitude, to that degree he continually creates and reasserts his poetic calling as a holy task. And just as his self-excoriation rises to a level of bitterness heretofore unheard in Ukrainian poetry (and perhaps poetry in general),[19] so also, with the same eloquence, he apotheosizes himself as Carrier of the Holy Word, indeed as Prophet.[20]

But it would be only partially true to say that there is a kind of balance, a compensatory equilibrium between these poles. (For the traditional Ševčenko scholarship, and even more so for the popular, iconic perception of the poet, this is nonetheless a radical departure.) The deeper truth, however (and to this day this is a largely impenetrable secret for the whole gamut of the Ševčenko reception), is that these polar stances and self-assessments, and with it the discourse they generate, far from being static are dynamically interconnected: they activate each other, they thrive on and expand each other, in a word, they establish a remarkably powerful synergy. The prophet needs and begets the sinner, the sinner the prophet.

[19] Perhaps the most telling instance of this occurs in the 1848 version of "A numo znovu viršuvat'." At first, in a variant that is crossed out, poetry is literally compared to cursing ("Jak že joho ne kljasty / I poeziji ne bude. . ."). Subsequently, a remarkable passage is introduced:

А то й поезія зав'яне
Як кривди не стане
Заходімося ж ми знову
Святеє поганить.
Ні, не до ладу, не до складу,
І кому завадить
Моя кривда лукавая?
Нікому. А зрадить
Самому зрадить на чужині,
І на далекій Україні,
Старому віри не поймуть,
Старого дурнем назовуть.
Нехай стара собака гине,
Коли не вміє шанувать
Людей та Бога пресвятого
Не вміє правдоньки сказать.
То й цур йому. Нехай блукає
Дурний свій розум проклинає
На старість учиться брехать
А ми не будемо читать
    Його скаженої брехні—
    Правда ваша люде.
    Брехнею, бач вийдеш всюди.
А не вийдеш в люди.
Та цур же їй! Нехай собі
Кого знає шиє
Брехня в дурні. . .

[20] Cf. *The Poet as Mythmaker*, p. 159 and passim. See also my "Iz problematyky symvoličnoji avtobiohrafiji u Mickeviča i Ševčenka," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1989, no. 3, pp. 27–35.

The arena, the space in which this agon/generation occurs is the psyche—and to this context, albeit briefly, we shall return. The visible surface, the window on the play, is the writing itself, more specifically the thematically and psychologically charged imperative of self-revelation. In keeping with what necessarily is always self-revealing *and* self-concealing, this focus, as we have seen, is never fixed, but perpetually in movement, decentered.

The second basic and altogether universal opposition is that of presence and absence, of existence and non-existence. The entire monologic first section [1–51] is in essence an extended, "internal" dialogue with the void; as convoluted and inventive as the poet's strategies for inventing presence may be—beginning with the conceit of a letter to himself—the reality that his thought finds is that "out there" there is only an absence. As we have seen, negation, specifically the sense of absence, surges through the poet's consciousness in incessant and implacable waves: there is no one out there to write to him, to read him, to respond to him [1–19]; the meaning he invests in it all is reflected back in questions [23–28]; his entire life's path is cast as a journey between emptiness and emptiness, the curse that was visited upon him before his birth [38–40] and his cursed state as he awaits immanent death [40–45, and 18–19]. Ultimately, the very beacon of his life, the Ukraine he sees himself as living and dying for, is questioned—not only in the rhetorical and "metaphysical" mode ("Čy vart vona ohnja svjatoho?" [26]), but in the existential realization that even though and as much as he loves her, real, human love was withheld from him [47–51].[21] Indeed there is a perfectly balanced inversion here: Ukraine's very breadth emphasizes his utter solitude [48–49].

For there to be dialogue, however, even if it be a dialogue with the void, the voice must issue from some vantage point. This point or base is the poet's will and imagination, and above all his writing. References to writing are even more frequent than references to the realm of the sacred (with which they are clearly and intrinsically interconnected): [1, 2, 6, 24, and 29]. With the ironic reference to imagining-fantasizing [32] and beyond that with the already noted *topos* of communication ("rad[a]," "porad[a]," and "slovo mudre"), this expanded realm of the word becomes the only

[21] This, in turn, is part of the much larger complex of *topoi*, passages, and indeed whole poems that debunk the notion of Ukraine as an idyllic paradise. The paradigmatic statement of this is the poem "Jakby vy znaly, panyči" (1850). In effect, the question of Ukraine's presence/absence—the fact that for Ševčenko she is "herself" only in an ideal mode (in childhood memory, in the distant past, in the hoped-for future) and that in real life (in the social setting, which includes also the poet's alienation) she is her own opposite, her self-negation—is intrinsically part of, and provides yet another focused instance of, the overarching mythical code of Ševčenko's poetry.

counterbalance to the surrounding void. Characteristically, the poem itself does not assert this. Within its confines the tug-of-war between absence and presence, doubt and assertion remains virtually to the end, with only the final coda [52–58] asserting self-reliance—*but still, not an explicit faith in the redemptive, life-giving power of poetry*. In the overall frame of the exile poetry, however, this power emerges as an unmistakable presence. It may be strongly tinged by self-irony and self-mockery,[22] but writing is revealed as the spinning of a lifeline, a thread by which the poet hangs on to existence (for he is a poet only insofar as he makes poetry), the embroidered pattern of his inner life, the minute tracings of his life's journey. *Scribo ergo sum.* As Ševčenko says in the concluding lines of the second version of "Liču v nevoli dni i noči":

Нехай гнилими болотами
Течуть собі меж бур'янами
Літа невольничі. А я!
Такая заповідь моя!
Посижу трошки, погуляю,
На степ, на море подивлюсь,
Згадаю дещо, заспіваю
Та й знов мережать захожусь
Дрібненько книжечку. Рушаю.
(lines 25–34)

If the essence of the void is death (and "Xiba samomu napysat' " evokes the looming presence of death with particular force), and if the essential value of poetry is its assertion of life, that quality is uniquely colored by the fact that this power, this life-force is self-generating. Poetry is a unique parthenogenesis, a mystery of self-creation born of multiform spiritual resources, which here, for Ševčenko, are primarily and paradoxically doubt and despair. The role of the poet, too, is singularly ambiguous: he is its necessary cause, and yet the very measure of the poetry's success is the way in which it succeeds in transcending him. For Ševčenko, on the one hand, this is traditionally and with subtle variations captured through the image of children who outlive their parents, of messengers-witnesses who wander over the wide world and who touch many souls, even while their creator is long dead. On the other hand, it is the high calling, finally crystallized in his post-exile poetry, but intuited and claimed virtually from the first, of the Poet-Prophet who speaks as but the mouthpiece of history, of Destiny, or of God Himself. It is in this voice that Ševčenko can, with all

22 Cf. especially the above-discussed "A numo znovu viršuvat' " and its variant "A toj poezija zav'jane" (fn. 19, above).

authority, speak of placing his Word to stand guard over the fate of his countrymen:

Я на сторожі коло їх
Поставлю слово. . .
"Podražanije 11 Psalmu"
(lines 22–23)

The exile poetry, however, reveals the working of yet another, now internal and almost wholly self-referential, form of poetic awareness or self-definition, an awareness that stands apart from the earlier poetry's sense of mission and calling and the later poetry's programmatic and millenarian prophetic stance. It does so above all by virtue of its heightened spiritual suffering, its burden of doubt and solitude, and by the concomitant "removal" of, or bracketing or suspension of, belief in (reflecting as it does the actual physical absence, indeed lack of access to) an audience. Just as a poet who does not write poetry is not a poet, so a prophet *in vacuo* is not a prophet. Thus, too, the poetry generated by this enforced (but in terms of his creativity altogether inevitable and organic) stance becomes a subversion of the privileged and seemingly essential link between "the poet" and "the people." Like so many other fixed relationships and verities, this, too, is decentered.

In the Ševčenko canon—which reflects a deep, collective intuition and not merely broadly political exigencies—the work that is traditionally taken as exemplifying the relationship of the poet to his people is the so-called Testament ("Jak umru to poxovajte"; 1845). In this brief poem the poet establishes an essential link, a contractual relationship between himself and his addressees (and these are not merely his contemporaries, but, as his quintessentially mythical, in effect timeless, formulation has it, all his countrymen—those "dead," "living," and "still unborn").[23] As in life, so after death he will speak for and "represent" Ukraine: on his burial mound he will abide with Ukraine as a silent witness, as part of nature, and he will intercede for his countrymen with God if and when they fulfill his (the poet's) commandment and finally liberate themselves. Similarly, in an implicit exchange of vows, he asks that (just as he gave his people his Word) they remember him with a soft, kind word in the new, free family—the vision of which is his essential legacy.

[23] Cf. both the title and the text of "I mertvym i žyvym i nenaroždennym zemljakam mojim v Ukrajini i ne v Ukrajini moje družnjeje poslanije" (1845).

That this legacy was so perceived, and the exchange of vows accepted across the divide of generations, is demonstrated by both the icon and the canon of Ševčenko—and not least of all by ritual recapitulation, most strikingly by the fact that in Ukrainian society his "Testament" (*Zapovit*) (specifically its opening and conclusion) is still collectively sung at solemn, public occasions. But the poet—in all his human and historical and psychological complexity—*is not and cannot be coterminous with his legacy.* If he were, he would be wholly the stuff of myth—and while Ševčenko is in an unparalleled way its maker and product, there is much in it that is not solely his and, what is more, much of him that is not in it. Quite apart from the biographical evidence (which in the genre of hagiography can, of course, be put in the service of myth) there is a textual basis for perceiving a "non-mythical" Ševčenko. In one major way it is found in the difference between his prose and his poetry, which devolves, as I have argued, on the difference between the "adjusted" and "unadjusted" sides of his personality.[24] Now, it appears that even within the poetry there is a demarcation between the stance of the Bard and a certain countervailing scepsis and irony. This line runs, with greater or lesser intensity, through the whole poetry and constitutes its essential decentering thrust. It is most evident, however, in the exile poetry and "Xiba samomu napysat'" emerges as its paradigmatic statement.

But the opposition here—and this is the third and perhaps most subtle of the poem's structuring oppositions—is not between a mythopoeic apotheosis of the Bard and an ironic, deflating counterpoint. As we have seen, the warp and weft of this poem is its suspension and questioning of a number of verities, but especially those that posit the high purpose, the high calling, and the actual achievement (the reference to his own *Kobzar* [11]) of the poet. None of the questions he asks are answered; the only approximation to an answer is that in spite of it all he still loves Ukraine. The opposition—and there surely is one—is signaled not by content but by mode. The demarcation, as noted at the outset, is stressed by the formal divide: on the one hand the monologic self-laceration that is the bulk of the poem [1–51] and on the other the short dialogic envoi [52–58] that counters and redefines all the preceding. The difference in tone, as we have also seen, recapitulates the two voices that were paradigmatically revealed in the first "Moskaleva krynycja" (1847): on the one hand that of "the poet," literate, intellectual, but also anguished and morbid, and on the other his earthy counterpart, unlettered, but wiser and more resilient. In "Moskaleva krynycja" (1847) their roles were those of "panyč" and

[24] Cf. *The Poet as Mythmaker*, pp. 9–11 and passim.

"mužyk," the one writing down and the other telling the story, and their seeming autonomy was motivated by the quasi-dramatic structure of the poem.[25] Here, their true, yoked nature is revealed: they articulate not so much a duality of class and experience (although faint echoes of that do obtain) as two dimensions of the psyche. They give voice, respectively, to the ego and the self.[26]

In a very real way the ego component of the first part [1–51] is so massive as to be overlooked; the "I" is the very fabric of the text. If we could speak of the lexically marked stress on the domain of the sacred (four references) and the act and fact of writing (five), the realm of the ego—as denoted by the reflexive pronoun (seven instances [1, 2, 17, 29, 53, and two in 58]), and especially the first person singular pronoun, "ja" / "mene" / "meni" (fourteen: [11, 14, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 33, 35, 36, two in 40, 44, and 48]), and adumbrated by the first person singular verbs—is signaled in virtually every line. (Significantly, it is virtually absent from the envoi, and its two reflexive instances in the last line, "... *sam sobi* mirkuj," seem ironically to echo the opening two lines as they close the poem by returning to its beginning.)

For Ševčenko the realms of the ego, of writing, and of the sacred (or of the Poet, his Word, and his Prophecy) are all intertwined. Cumulatively they establish the structure of authorship, and, as ever, that structure is coextensive with authority. That authority, in turn, as both an individual and societal force cannot but crave, and cannot exist without, an audience. Without it, ego/authority is diminished and threatened. Its withdrawal—as much or even more so than the mere fact of exile and solitude—is the source of his anguish. In this regard his conflation of writing/authorship and love, and beyond that his suggestion of a necessary reciprocity is revealing:

> Для кого я пишу? для чого?
> За що я Вкраїну люблю?
> Чи варт вона огня святого?...
> [24–26]

From the point of view of the ego, from its need for love and attention, such an implicit *quid pro quo* is natural and inevitable—but it is hardly the

[25] Cf. my "Variations on Duality: Ševčenko's 'Moskaleva krynycja'," forthcoming in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

[26] Regarding the interrelation of self and ego, see C. G. Jung, *Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self* (Princeton, N.J., 1959; German original: *Aion: Untersuchungen zur Symbolgeschichte* [Zurich, 1951]), especially chaps. 1–5. I am grateful to Oksana Grabowicz for bringing this to my attention.

authentic, selfless love that he is implicitly and indeed programmatically seeking. "Love is not love," in Shakespeare's formulation, "which alters when it alteration finds, / Or bends with the remover to remove." And still within the space of the poem, in fact before the end of the monologic part, Ševčenko does express a selfless love, "A vse-taky jiji ljublju, / Moju Ukrajinu šyroku"—even while doing so with feelings of hurt and rejection, "Xoč ja po jij i odynokyj/ (Bo, bačte, pary ne najšov)," that continue to emanate from the ego. Similarly revealing is his assertion that what he seeks is not praise, but simple human contact-counsel:

Не похвали собі, громадо!—
Без неї може обійдусь,—
А ради жду собі, поради!
[15–17]

But as plausible as it is, as socially acceptable as is its framing, it is still a form of ego-dissimulation: whether seen as "counsel" or as "praise," the need for contact, for support, for *external (societal) validation* is unmistakable and unmistakably a part of the ego. From the point of view of his own quest and of his final insight, his request that this "counsel," this "slovo mudre" be given to him so that he (he!) could know why he is writing—

Щоб хто-небудь мені сказав
Хоч слово мудре; щоб я знав,
Для кого я пишу? для чого?...
[22–24]

—is simply absurd; it is a rhetorical conceit, a trick of the ego. The answer can only come from within.

In contrast to the stormy flow and ebb of the preceding, the envoi is calming and laconic. It works not so much through ironic deflation as through a matter-of-fact directness, and practical advice. As in Zen teaching, the tone, the idea, and its implementation are fused: the answer is not in striving for recognition, or counsel, or love, but in self-reliance ("V dulevynu sebe zakuj"), in self-focusing and harmony ("Harnen'ko Bohu pomolysja"), and in liberation from the external and social ("A na hromadu xoč napljuj"). In fact, and most significantly, it is not presented as an *answer*, a ready-made solution, (which by virtue of being fixed could well be unadaptable) but as a mode of being, a search and an openness that is its own reward:

А втім, як знаєш, пане-брате,
Не дурень, сам собі міркуй.

As necessary as this course may be for the author's self-healing, as persuasive as it may be in light of his, and the reader's, intuitive understanding of his existential predicament, it is fraught with danger and paradox. For it flies in the face of the overall collectivist ethos of his society,[27] and in particular of the model of holy communitas with its privileged and determining role in the Ukrainian experience, that his poetry did so much to confirm.[28] In light of this ethos and model his willingness to say that one *can* transcend the community (that one can "spit" on it, that one can see it as a "cabbage-head") is indeed a radical shift and it dramatizes a dimension of his character that in turn transcends by far his iconic image. This departure is entirely motivated, however. On the one hand, it again illustrates, perhaps most radically, his perpetual readiness to challenge and decenter even those verities that are fundamental for him[29] —here the otherwise never challenged, but now specifically named *hromada*. On the other hand, even more systematically, it reveals the interplay of the poetry of the ego and the poetry of the self and the way in which the latter is essential for the integrity of the former.

In his post-exile poetry, specifically in such works as "Jurodyvyj" (1857), the triptych "Dolja," "Muza," and "Slava" (1858), in his "imitations" of the biblical prophets, particularly of Psalm 11 (1859), in "Marija" (1859), Ševčenko assumes the mantle of prophetic poetry with a new-found confidence that in large measure is based, so we must believe, on his sense of his *fitness* for this high task. As he says in "Dolja," "My prosto jšly; u nas nema / Zerna nepravdy za soboju." At the same time, as we have already seen, there is ample evidence (paradigmatically given by "Čy to nedolja ta nevolja"—and the decentering interplay of "dolja/nedolja" is clearly at the heart of this) that, especially during the exile period, Ševčenko massively felt and expressed in the sharpest terms the sense of his own guilt and of his fallen nature. How, then, should we understand "u nas nema / Zerna nepravdy za soboju"? The answer lies precisely in the term *nepravda*: he disavows not his sinfulness, for all men are sinful, and he first among them, but the lie that covers it up. And the poetry of the exile period is a concerted effort to exorcize self-deception, to bare and thus heal the

27 For the moment we have to understand this as refering both to all-Russian and to specifically Ukrainian society, with the relative degree and prominence of collectivism in each of them and in their respective traditions a matter still to be determined.

28 Cf. *The Poet as Mythmaker*, chap. 3 and passim.

29 The instance of instances for this is Ševčenko's relationship to God: his profound religiosity is exemplified by his continuing "bohoborstvo."

soul.[30]

At the core of that process is writing—writing as that which articulates and gives shape to both the self and the ego, and to the role that the latter will play in the world and in history. The purpose, the goal, the addressees of the writing assume, therefore, central importance. Hence, too, the questions that are the very hinge of "Xiba samomu napysat'": "Dlja koho ja pyšu? dlja čoho?" While the sense of an audience (implicitly the "nation" itself)[31] and of the mission to speak to it is never abandoned and emerges with new vigor in the post-exile poetry, the poetry of exile forces an inward look. As he says in the opening lines of one 1848 poem:

Не для людей, тієї слави,
Мережані та кучеряві
Оці вірші віршую я.
Для себе братія моя!

A certain paradox, or the same ongoing decentering, does remain, of course: the claim of writing for oneself is again couched in the rhetoric of a direct address, almost of an epistle (and the narrative content of this poem, in effect, its one extended image, is of the poet's words, like "light" little children coming to him from Ukraine and flying back to Ukraine, to be received in the archetypal-ideal family: "I v sim'ji veselij tyxo / Ditej pryvitajut'..."). In this strikingly mediumistic formulation of writing[32] we

[30] The inherent question of "repentance" is polysemous. On the one hand, Ševčenko says explicitly in "N. N. (O dumy moji! o slavo zlaja)" (1847), "Karajus', mučusja... ale ne kajus'!"; on the other hand, the narrative and symbolic movement of many poems (e.g., "Moskaleva krynycja," especially the 1857 version, "Varnak" [1848], or "Mež skalamy, nenače zlodij" [1848]) is directed precisely at repentance, forgiveness, and renewal. The two levels implied here are not mutually contradictory: while denying the moral right of the (official) authority that so "fiercely" (*ljuto*) punishes him, he nonetheless, as I have argued, cannot but accept guilt—and utilize it as a form of self-renewal.

[31] The concept of nation has a special complexity when used in the context of Ševčenko's creativity. The fundamental dichotomy here is that while the formative influence on Ukrainian national consciousness was undoubtedly that of Ševčenko (the consensus in Ukrainian historiography is quite correct here), his own sense of Ukraine is decidedly pre-political and mythical (cf. *The Poet as Mythmaker*). By way of illustration one can note that Ševčenko, who did more than anyone to enable Ukrainians to identify themselves as Ukrainians, never used the term "ukrajinec'"/ "ukrajinka." Similarly, while contributing more than any writer to the establishment of the modern Ukrainian literary language, he continued to write in a general Russian orthography—even though fledgling Ukrainian orthographies were already being utilized. What is at play here, however, is not so much paradox as the difference between the larger and the smaller picture.

[32] This is echoed in a number of exile poems; cf. also the introduction to "Knjažna" (1847). A specific variant here is the depiction of writing (cf., for example, "To tak i ja teper pyšu" [1847]) as a kind of out-of-body experience, where it is not the words that fly from Ukraine, alight on the poet's pages, and fly back again, but the poet himself. While initiated in "Son (Komedija)" (1844), it was given there only through the device of a "dream." In the "Testa-

may hear an echo of the poet's "Testament"—with the operant shift, however, that even while the goal of reunion and repose in the bosom of an archetypal, free, and joyous family is the same, the mode is personal and lyrical, while in the earlier poem it is collective and sublime.

The shift to the poetry of the self expressed at the end of "Xiba samomu napysat'" is much more radical: under its impact, and building on the poem's overall fabric of doubt and decentering, the whole begins to function as a kind of "Anti-Testament." The Bard, who spoke of himself as incorporating all of Ukraine, its past and future, into himself, who saw himself, in life and after death, as its singular representative and spokesman before God, now speaks calmly and coldly of encasing himself in the steely armor of indifference, self-reliance and self-validation, and dismisses the community more in mockery than anger. As an antithesis, moreover, it is not a fleeting moment, a flutter on the graph of his writing, but a statement whose subtle play of rhetoric and feeling, especially when seen against the background of the undercurrents and leitmotifs of the exile poetry, assumes programmatic significance. To see it—as is done by both Soviet and non-Soviet critics—as simply momentary disillusionment, as a passing vaccilation in an otherwise firm (even "idealogical") stance is to misread badly both the intrinsic, the textual, and the large, overarching pattern of Ševčenko's poetry.[33] In terms of the former, as I have attempted to show here, the movement of Ševčenko's thought, its articulation and syntax, is continually marked by reversal and decentering; throughout it acts as a force field and not as a set of syllogisms. In its turn, Ševčenko's life-limned-in-poetry or simply his sense of himself as a poet, *as reflected in the poetry itself*, does show an overall pattern of self-assertion as bard and national spokesman. Its general movement, moreover, is toward a prophetic stance which is built, as I have argued at some length, primarily on structures of mythical thought resonating with the collective ethos. At the same time, *on the personal, psychological level*, this general movement is also

ment" (1845) the poet—not his soul, but the poet himself—will fly to God from his grave when Ukraine sheds her evil blood. In the exile poetry all of his writing—as a holy experience—implicitly assumes this form of communication. The way in which these various moments adumbrate the shamanic role of the poet requires further elaboration.

33 Cf., for example, the treatment of "Xiba samomu napysat'" in Pavlo Zajcev's *Žyttja Tarasa Ševčenka* (New York, Paris, Munich, 1955), pp. 245–47, and P. M. Fedčenko's recent *Taras Hryhorovyč Ševčenko* (Kiev, 1989), pp. 184–85. Here, and in general, the naively biographical approach, the virtual absence of a sense of an immanent and overarching *poetic* systematics or code, is largely occasioned, it would seem, by an implicit (or even explicit) orientation to a popular audience, and with it the need (which is certainly not consciously perceived) to reaffirm a direct, one-to-one relationship between the life and the poetry. One of the very few exceptions to this is Marietta Šaginjan's justly acclaimed *Taras Ševčenko* (Moscow, 1941).

countered by a consistent, decentering pattern of doubt, which ranges from harsh moral self-condemnation to mild self-irony (quintessentially in his very last poems). While it can be shown to be general and basically synchronic, the existential core of this pattern, the locus of its textual and psychological intensity is clearly the poetry of exile.

From this poetry above all (but from his whole oeuvre as well), Ševčenko emerges as a poignantly liminal figure. Like Ukrainian society, which he did so much to animate and mold, and which he feels and intuits more than any of his contemporaries, Ševčenko is caught between powerful antipodes. Just as his society finds itself torn between a historical (albeit nostalgic and mythologized) and a provincially ahistorical consciousness, between a *de facto* regional (and politically utterly passive) and, at this stage, only intuited (and in its articulation only emotional) national existence, so he, too, is no less torn: socially (and psychologically) he is neither a *panyč* nor a *mužyk*. He knows the great power of his calling and with a profound inner vision he sees that it is his destiny to become his nation's beacon ("A slava zapovid' moja"), and yet this same power of insight, with merciless intensity and detail, reveals to him his own and his society's profound flaws and inadequacies. And, as already noted, the all-too-human option of self-delusion or oblivion or even selective, partial vision is denied to him: his blessing and his curse is that the only kind of poetry he can write is the kind that is utterly honest. In this sense his poetry is indeed always a confession and a prayer, a holy task—even when it entails cursing and a challenging of God Himself; the merely decorative, or rhetorical, or conventional quite simply has no place in it.

This altogether organic need to bare his soul, to expose his suffering and his doubts, is what ultimately allows Ševčenko to transcend his oppositions and to turn his liminality into consistently inspired poetry. Specifically, the poetry of the self serves simultaneously as a counterbalance to, *and* as a means for, legitimizing, on a higher, humane level, the poetry of the ego—his drive to be the nation's spokesman and prophet. In effect, the "Anti-Testament" that we can synecdochically see in "Xiba samomu napysat' " is precisely that which makes the "Testament" (and by extension, of course, the whole modality behind it) legitimate and authentic: if he can free his ideal, his role of being the carrier of the Word, from social approval ("Ne dlja ljudej, tijeji slavy. . . ") then he is indeed free and the ideal is real. This freedom becomes categoric, a *sine quo non*, in light of his grim judgment on the slavishness of society. As he says in "Vo Iudeji vo dni ony":

> Ми серцем голі догола!
> Раби з кокардою на лобі!
> Лакеї в золотій оздобі

Онуча, сміття з помела
.го величества. Та й годі.
(lines 41–45)

In this same vein (the preceding lines respond to the question: "Ta dež nam tuju matir vzjaty?" and the poem itself is an introduction to his last long poem, "Marija" [1859]), the universal ideal that the Mother of Christ incarnates for Ševčenko is essentially also reflected in the fact that her mission of giving birth to the Word, and providing succor for His disciples, ends—as he casts it—with her dying of hunger, alone and abandoned. Her mission is truly holy precisely because her legacy, her true inner meaning, resists and overcomes the false triumphalist interpretation that society places upon her, and, as Ševčenko so pointedly charges, "crucifies" her with:

А потім ченці одягли
Тебе в порфіру. І вінчали,
Як ту царицю... Розп'яли
Й тебе, як сина. Наплювали
На тебе, чистую, кати;
Розтлили кроткую! а ти...
Мов золото в тому горнилі,
В людській душі возобновилась,
В душі невольничій, малій,
В душі скорбящей і убогій.
(lines 747–757)

That this is a projection of Ševčenko's own, personal ideal seems beyond doubt—as well as the ironic fact that society, with its structures, its "bonzes and priests," and its official and self-serving cult of the poet, prepared the same fate for him. And he, clearly, seems to have anticipated this.

But it also seems clear that it was his genius (and in all of modern Ukrainian literature that overworked Romantic notion perhaps applies only to him) that allowed him to evade that societal and egocentric trap of cult and of authority and find that same universal language of common humanity that he apotheizes in "Marija." For Ševčenko, in fact, never did lay claim to a "rule over men's souls" (*rząd dusz*) as did his Polish counterpart, Mickiewicz.[34] (Along with an organic decentering of that kind of authority through the mechanism that I have described, there is also the powerful role of native models and traditions: the *wieszcz*, for Mickiewicz and the entire Polish Romantic period and legacy, is a construct and paradigm that draws as much and even more on the sphere of the elite and of abstract idea than it

[34] Cf. "Iz problematyky symvoličnoji avtobiohrafiji u Mickeviča i Ševčenka," pp. 34–35.

does on the experience of the common man; the "kobzar," in contrast, is wholly in the latter sphere, and it is only in literary-critical discourse that this is conflated with the notion of "bard.") And yet if by "rule" one means not only a cult but a continuing, massive presence and bond of affection, and perhaps most of all an ongoing identification with and through him, achieve it he did.

From our perspective, his movement on this path, the trace he leaves of it in his writings, is as interesting as the final achievement. It is a trace, moreover, that is polysemous and, once recognized, will no longer allow (we must hope) for simplistic readings. Thus we see that upon regaining his freedom, and (as we now assume) marshaling his resources for the large social task ahead, he did cross-out and he did not rework, he "erased," various poems he wrote during exile, among them "Xiba samomu napysat'," his most evocative self-deconstruction. For him (we continue to assume) they were no longer functional for the ever-widening role he knew he was destined to play ("A slava zapovid' moja. . ."). And yet they were not destroyed, they remain, and the trace they leave is no less important than the role itself. In fact, without it the role is not fully comprehensible. They are part of his signature.

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Song 29 of Skovoroda's *Garden*

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Students of Hryhorij Skovoroda's verse have frequently overlooked what should be evident: the poems reflect their author's mystic philosophy and emblematic manner. The sometimes perceptive Soviet commentator Ivan V. Ivan'o, for example, found Song 29 of Skovoroda's *Garden of Divine Songs* "incomprehensible in its mood." The song, seemingly a passionate appeal for spiritual aid, was written late in the philosopher's life, in a period when, Ivan'o thought, Skovoroda had achieved a sense of inner peace and equilibrium.[1] Some readers, to be sure, have avoided such an erroneously biographical reading. Dmytro Čyževs'kyj stressed that Skovoroda's literary style and images are characteristically mystic.[2] I. Z. Serman noted: "In Skovoroda's poetry everything has a sense that is not so much material as transcendent to that materiality."[3]

Here we are considering what all this means for Song 29, one of Skovoroda's most striking pieces of verse. The *Garden* contains thirty numbered poems, each preceded by one or more epigraphs, usually from the Bible; it also includes a short unnumbered poem based on an icon. The poems were written at different times and were apparently united, probably with some revision, in the *Garden* late in Skovoroda's life. The full title of the collection is *Garden of Divine Songs Germinated From Seeds of the Holy Scripture*, and in truth the songs are rife with phrasing from the scriptures and liturgical works.[4] The image of the garden has a long tradition in

[1] *Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody* (Kiev, 1972), pp. 218–19.

[2] Čyževs'kyj (Tschiżewskij) has presented the most detailed description of the mystic character of Skovoroda's philosophy and writings. See, for example, his *Fil'osofija H. S. Skovorody* (Warsaw, 1934), and *Skovoroda: Dichter, Denker, Mystiker* (Munich, 1974).

[3] I. Z. Serman, "M. V. Lomonosov, G. S. Skovoroda i bor'ba napravlenij v russkoj i ukrainskoj literaturax XVIII v." in *Russkaja literatura XVIII v. i slavjanskie literatury: Issledovanija i materialy* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1963), p. 75.

[4] The secular tradition also provided important sources for Skovoroda's phrasing. Skovoroda assimilated a multitude of others' words, expressions, and thoughts, which reappear in his writings with new meanings, as A. V. Muzyčka noted in 1923 in the first broad, serious study of Skovoroda's poetry, "Poetyčna tvorčist' H. S. Skovorody," in *Pam'jati H. S. Skovorody* (Odessa, 1923), pp. 37–61. "Often there stand side-by-side quotations from the most varied authors of different times," Muzyčka remarks, "And therefore the language in his works is so vivid, picturesque, and also therefore Skovoroda's own thought acquires alien forms, so that his works are especially poetic."

literature. For Skovoroda, gardens are often associated with talk and the exchange of ideas. The sensuous pleasures of a garden can symbolize or evoke hidden truths.[5]

Skovoroda did not comment much on his poetry, but he did say this about one of the songs in the *Garden* (the 11th):

> This song is not a great rock but a very small stone. It nevertheless is useful for developing piety. It without a doubt has a spark within it. It does not entirely lack a keen edge for excising the passions of the flesh and is somewhat like the pieces of flint with which circumcision was once done among the Jews. We are bound to the world, we are immersed in the flesh, we are entangled in the sophisms of the Devil. But if we make the attempt more often, there is hope that we someday shall extricate ourselves and rise up... (2:353)[6]

Note that Skovoroda stresses the practical aspect of his poem—it is a device for developing piety. This position befits a man who—evidence suggests—engaged in some sort of meditative exercises and seems to have had mystical experiences.

That the *Garden* has precisely thirty numbered songs is fraught with significance. One character (Grigorij) in one of Skovoroda's dialogues says that at age thirty the morning of truth begins to dawn (1:440). Christ began his ministry at thirty. St. John Climacus's *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, an ancient handbook of the ascetic life that enjoyed some popularity among the East Slavs, has thirty chapters, reflecting Christ's first thirty years; each chapter represents a step on the ladder of the ascetic life. There are many other examples in the literary tradition preceding Skovoroda.

Skovoroda's *Garden* teaches, or is emblematic of, a mystic coming-of-age. I have written elsewhere about the complex patterns of form and content that can be discerned in the collection's structure.[7] These lead to the insight that the *Garden* is like an intricate emblem, an object for edifying meditation. Suffice it to say here that the *Garden* draws on the Bible and associated literature to provide an array of images and forms that engross the reader's mind and stimulate it to reflective activity. It should be recalled that, for the mystic, the apparent or material world is underlain by what is truly real. The mystic seeks union with God by following a

[5] Hryhorij Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1973), p. 300; hereafter, citations from this edition appear within the text in parentheses with the page number following the volume number.

[6] According to Philo, by the way, circumcision is traditionally important figuratively in two ways: as a reminder that true pleasure comes from spiritual growth rather than physical indulgence, and that God, not man, is the source of ultimate creative power. See T. Katsaros and N. Kaplan, *The Western Mystical Tradition*, vol. 1 (New Haven, 1969), p. 99.

[7] "Skovoroda's *Garden of Divine Songs*: A Description and Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976).

complicated and difficult path involving battle with the phenomenal world. Occasionally he may give way to feelings of defeat; occasionally he may think he achieves glimpses, ecstatic hints, of the ultimate joy called God. The touchstone of the mystic is a sense of the direct experience, even if momentarily, of that ultimate joy.

All this is said by way of preface, as preparation for contemplation of the song itself, which is far more than a simple reworking of the traditional (especially in the baroque) comparison of a person in life to a storm-tossed bark at sea. To understand the poem we must try to see how it would be perceived by a sensitive reader living in Skovoroda's milieu, a time and place with a culture, language, and literary tradition different from ours. We must recapture such a reader's awareness of words and phrases resonant with familiar meaning. First and foremost we need to look at biblical echoes. For Skovoroda, it should be recalled, the universe is composed of two "natures": the visible and the invisible, which is the underlying reality. Skovoroda also conceives of three worlds: the macrocosm, the microcosm (man), and the symbolic world—preeminently the Bible. The macrocosm and the symbolic world display signs or "symbols" of God that lead man's thoughts to Him.

In evoking biblical images in Song 29 Skovoroda is relentlessly consistent in his focus on the sea, on the marine. Even the addressing of Christ as son of Mary is apropos in this regard, since a traditional interpretation of the name "Mary" has been "exalted of the sea," or "lady of the sea."[8] The first of Song 29's two epigraphs comes from Psalm 106,[9] which has many echoes in the poem. The psalm offers examples of how God, in His mercy, delivers people from various calamities. It includes a striking description of His deliverance of sailors from a storm—the central image of Song 29. Here are parts of the song echoing the psalm:

Epigraph, verse 29: "And he commands the storm, and it is calmed into a gentle breeze, and its waves are still."[10]

lines 6–9, verse 26: "They go up to the heavens, and go down to the depths; their soul melts because of troubles."[11]

[8] Alexander Cruden, *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scripture* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 713.

[9] Here and below I use the King James version of the Bible for quotes from the New Testament but the Septuagint (in the 1851 translation by Lancelot C. L. Brenton) for citations from the Old Testament, on the grounds that it is closer to the Bible used by Skovoroda. The wording of the Slavonic Bible is given in footnotes in a simplified transcription.

[10] *"I povelě buri, i sta v" tišinu, i umolkoša volny ego."*

[11] *"Vosxodjat" do nebes", i nizxodjat" do bezdn": duša ix v" zlyx tajaše."*

line 10, verse 12: "So their heart was brought low with troubles; they were weak, and there was no helper."[12]

In verse 30 we read, "And they are glad, because they are quiet; and he guides them to their desired haven."[13] For Skovoroda, this haven stands for Christ, the *pristanišče* of line 11 in the song.

The second epigraph is from a New Testament account of a ship in a storm on the Sea of Galilee. It is the story, told more than once (Matt. 8, Mark 4, Luke 8), of how Jesus, in the ship with his disciples, stilled the storm after he was awakened from sleep; thus line 16 of the song. As Augustine, one of Skovoroda's favorite writers, commented concerning this story: "We are sailing in this life as through a sea, and the wind rises, and storms of temptation are not wanting. Whence is this, save because Jesus is sleeping in thee, i.e., thy faith in Jesus is slumbering in thy heart? Rouse Him and say, Master, we perish. He will awaken, that is, thy faith will return to thee, and the danger will be over."[14]

The end of the song evokes another marine episode: Peter's attempt to follow Christ and walk on the waters. As described in Matt. 14, there was a strong wind (as in Song 29), and Peter lacked faith: "Lord, save me,"[15] he cried.

These are the most obvious incorporations of scriptural text into the poem. But Skovoroda marshals other references and allusions as well, prodding his readers with his characteristic literary devices to reflect further on the matters presented. One device is ambiguity, drawing upon Skovoroda's wont for combining antitheses and his fondness for etymological analysis. There is a lovely example in Song 29's last line. Above we took *Petra* as an accusative ("Peter")—in apposition to *mja* ("me"), the speaker of the poem crying out, like Peter in the gospel story, for aid. But Skovoroda often uses the word *petra* in the Greek sense of rock; here it could be a kind of vocative,[16] addressing the recipient of the speaker's prayer. As we know from Song 16 and other of his works, Skovoroda sometimes speaks of Christ as his rock, or *kifa* (*kefa*), which, explains our poet in his notes to Song 14, is the Hebrew equivalent of *petra*. The ambiguity of *petra* prompts the reader to reflect on the fact that Christ, the invisible nature, is in some sense within everyone.[17]

12 *"I smirisja v" truděx" serdce ix", i iznemogoša, i ne bě pomogajaj."*

13 *"I vozveselišasja, jako umolkoša, i nastavi ja v" pristanišče xotěnija svoego."*

14 J. R. Dummelow, ed., *A Commentary on the Holy Bible* (New York, 1909), p. 655.

15 *"Gospodi, spasi mja."*

16 The form can be seen as a nominative with vocative force or as a Greek vocative.

17 Curiously, in a letter written a couple of weeks after Song 29, Skovoroda refers both to Peter, who was saved from the waves, and to *petra* in the sense of a firm foundation—in this case, God and love (2: 362, 363).

This is not the only instance of seemingly intentional ambiguity, or double meaning, used to draw the reader into edifying reflection. Line 20 echoes another passage from the Psalms—"Awake, my glory" [56:9][18] —where, however, the reference is to the psalmist's own soul. In Song 29 the speaker is addressing Christ and at the same time his own soul. The word "soul" itself appears in line 9 of the poem, where the speaker describes his own soul, and in line 22, where the word seems a vocative, cleverly evoking a popular line found in the *Bogoglasnik* and elsewhere that harks back to stanza IV.[19] So in line 22 the speaker asks Christ, or his inner soul, to quell the passions.

As is typical of meditative poetry, Song 29 begins in a concrete way, with a specific image, and shifts to a more figurative and expressive mode. The reader is moved to reflect upon the complex relation between the self and Christ by the song's shifting images. Christ is first the haven, the shore, sought by the ship (stanza III), but then Christ is found sleeping in the vessel (stanza IV), just as the invisible nature and the true man are within the fleshly man; the *navklir* sought in line 4 is on board, after all. Paradox, of course, is a favorite device of meditative poets; the true significance of their images lies in the underlying context, not in the immediately apparent worldly contradiction.

Skovoroda shapes grammar and syntax to support his point. The speaker's worries dominate the first two stanzas, presented in hyperbolic images. The third stanza shifts focus; it is entirely positive, celebratory of Christ. Located at the center of the poem, this stanza is itself very symmetrically organized and balanced. Each line has just three words. There is but one verb ("be"). The multiplicity of noun forms (substantives and adjectives) associated with Christ here create a sense of strength and solidity, rest and peace.

In the fourth stanza, where Christ, in a stunning shift of reference, is now presented as within rather than without, many verbs, particularly imperatives, appear. The repeated *Ax* reminds the reader of the frantic and helpless mood of the speaker in the first two stanzas. The last stanza continues the prayer and the string of imperatives. As we have seen, there appear to

[18] *"Vostani, slava moja."*

[19] *Bogoglasnik* (Kiev, 1889), p. 156: *"Vostani, o, duše! vostani, čto spiši."* The character Grigorij in one of Skovoroda's dialogues cries: *"Vostani, duše moja, ne spi na stixijax"* (1:322). One might object that in Song 29, as printed in the Soviet edition and reproduced here, the *duše* in line 22 is not surrounded by commas—which might be expected for a vocative. But the punctuation in the Soviet edition reflects its editors' predilections, rather than Skovoroda's usage—which by and large is not quite like ours and, in any event, is not known for Song 29, since there apparently is no authorial autograph extant.

be several instances of ambiguous words in these last two stanzas, words pointing to both Christ and the self, thereby shocking the reader into reflection that Christ, the true man, is within.

All in all, the mood of Song 29 is not, *pace* Ivan'o, incomprehensible. The poem comes late in the *Garden*, which is, as I have already asserted, emblematic of the achievement of mystic maturity. Songs 25–27 are devoted to men who are examples of good and fruitful (both productive and manifesting the fruit of the spirit) individuals. Together with the icon poem "Carmen," these three form a set of models for meditation on the general shape of a spiritually reborn man's life in the world. Songs 25–27 also offer a sudden abundance of warm emotion, love, directed toward another human being—something not seen earlier in the *Garden*. Earlier in the *Garden* the reader sees opposition between the speaker and the world, or love between the speaker and Christ. Now we see that if the progression of poems in the *Garden* signifies a mystical coming-of-age, a maturation, then it turns out at this late point that richness of love for our fellows is also entailed. The speaker is not alone. So, too, in Song 28 there is felt a kind of social concern, a fellow feeling; as the introductory note suggests, the speaker is one in a society of "God-loving hearts." After Song 28 there is but one more reminder of the perilousness of the human condition, its easy lapses from grace: that comes in Song 29, as if to remind us that even the mature man must experience spiritual torment and inner strife. That this song of relative despair comes immediately before the triumphant concluding poem, Song 30, also reminds us that achievement of the "unitive life," the goal of the mystic path, is traditionally often preceded by a stage called by some the dark night of the soul or mystic death.

Song 30 takes as its point of departure the cycle of time and the coming of autumn. The troubles of Song 29, one may conclude, are mastered by a person with the wisdom of ripe maturity. God is a firm rock, says Skovoroda with striking sound repetition: "*On živ, ne umiraja, živet že s nim živaja/Moja i duša*." The enjambment, rare in the *Garden*, underlines the point. Thus, the *Garden* ends with an immediate rejoinder to the image of the waning soul seen early in Song 29. The striking affirmation of life at the end of the collection shows how far a distance has been traveled from Song 1's opening line about people fearing to rot in the grave.

New York

TEXT OF SONG 29[20]

ПѢСНЬ 29-я

В конец сей: *Повелѣ бурѣ и протч. Кто сей есть, его же вѣтры, море послушают?*

Чолнок мой бури вихр шатает,
Се в бездну, се выспрь вергает!
  Ах, нѣсть мнѣ днесь мира
  И нѣсть мнѣ навклира.
Се мя море пожирает!

Гора до небес восходит,
Другая до бездн нисходит,
  Надежда мнѣ тает,
  Душа ищезает.
Ждах — и се нѣсть помогаяй!

О пристанище безбѣдно,
Тихо, сладко, безнавѣтно!
  О Маріин сыне!
  Ты буди едине
Кораблю моему брегом.

Ты в кораблѣ моем спиши,
Востани! Мой плач услыши!
  Ах, запрети морю,
  Даждь помощь мнѣ скору!
Ах, востани, моя славо!

Избави мя от напасти,
Смири душе тлѣнны страсти,
  Се дух мой терзают,
  Жизнь огорчевают
Спаси мя, Петра, молюся!

Конец.

Сложенна 1785 года, сентемвра 17 дня, в селѣ Великом Бурлукѣ.

20 *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*, 1: 88.

Private Worlds: The Psychological Dimension of Les' Martovych's Prose

OLEH S. ILNYTZKYJ

Він щось багато в своїй голові міркує...
(„Не-читальник")

Я себе фурт обсервую...
(„Народна ноша")

Amidst the critical and scholarly literature devoted to Martovych—a body of work which aptly but rather monotonously rehearses his stature as a satirist and humorist—there appears an intermittent leitmotif that for all its conspicuousness has remained neglected. I am referring to what has been variably described as Martovych's psychologism. Impressed by his "psychological accuracy,"[1] critics have remarked—mostly in passing—that he is "capable of conveying the smallest characteristic of the peasant soul,"[2] that he has "a wonderful knowledge of peasant psychology."[3] "In the novel *Zabobon* [Superstition]," says a Soviet critic, "Martovych's talent as a satirist comes through first of all in his ability to create personalities, to ridicule his characters' warped (*potvorne*) behavior and psychology."[4] A "psychological reportage"[5] is how another critic qualifies this novel. Elsewhere, it has been noted that "each word [in the story "Hrishnytsia" (The Sinner)] is premeditated, carrying a sure psychological charge."[6] Phrases like "psychologically refined" and "the psyche of his heroes" find their way into studies.[7] The "psychological depth" of Martovych's prose has even been deemed more profound than Ivan Franko's.[8]

1 Mykhailo Mohylians'kyi, "Les' Martovych" in Les' Martovych, *Vybrani tvory*, vol. 1, (Kiev, n.d.), p. xl.
2 *Materialy do vyvchennia istorii ukrains'koi literatury*, vol. 4 (Kiev, 1962), p. 290.
3 Iu. Hamorak [Iu. Stefanyk], "Talant bez seredovyshcha," in Les' Martovych, *Tvory* (Cracow and Lviv, 1943), 1: xxxii.
4 Semen Shakhovs'kyi, "Muza polum'ianoi satyry," in Les' Martovych, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1963), p. 20.
5 Hamorak [Stefanyk], "Talant bez seredovyshcha," p. li.
6 Fedir Pohrebennyk, *Les' Martovych: Zhyttia i tvorchist'* (Kiev, 1971), p. 117.
7 Mohylians'kyi, "Les' Martovych," pp. xxxix, xl.
8 Hamorak [Stefanyk], "Talant bez seredovyshcha," p. lii.

Unfortunately, these sporadic statements have never led to a careful investigation of the subject. If any clarification was tendered, it amounted to little more than a tribute to the author's astuteness and powers of observation. Moreover, since the textual and formal manifestations have not been discussed, the mystery remains of how Martovych achieves this "psychological" effect and what place it holds in the prose as a whole.

For starters, an objection can be raised that many of his works do not conform to this description. Clearly, stories like "Ivan Rylo," "Vynaidena rukopsys' pro rus'kyi krai," "Strybozhyi darunok," "Zhyrafa ta lado," "Smertel'na sprava," "Zle dilo," and "Ian" are social satires that bear no trace of "psychology," regardless of how one defines the word. Although excellent in many respects, these works sooner resemble didactic fables or political parables than psychological studies. Defining what is "psychological" in his prose is made complex also by the fact that this attribute has been espied in such vastly different works as "Hrishnytsia" and *Zabobon*—one a dramatic dialogue, the other a full-blown novel. The term, in short, has little substance; it has been used loosely and impressionistically to suggest an important but hitherto only vaguely understood feature of Martovych's work.

In this paper "psychological" will denote a narrative tendency that draws attention to the internal world of fictional characters, i.e., to their mental life (broadly understood to encompass sensations, feelings, attitudes, etc.) normally at the expense of external, physical, behavioristic description. While, admittedly, this is not a characteristic generic to all of Martovych's work, it is, nevertheless, a major element warranting systematic consideration.

The most obvious instance of Martovych's psychological propensity is found in *Zabobon*. Despite its satiric thrust, frequent episodes of sincere humor, and a political side-plot (i.e., construction of a reading hall), this novel comes across first as being concerned with mind and consciousness. One sign of this is that *Zabobon* resists easy synopsis. Short on action, it lingers protractedly on mental or introspective activities. The author is obviously interested in the dynamics of the human mind. Slavko, the main character, is a virtual catalogue of emotional disabilities: phobic, superstitious, and guilt-ridden, he is a chronic malingerer, who also suffers from an inferiority complex. The object of his stunted sexuality, Pani Kran'tsovs'ka, is a sharp portrait of coquetry and reserve, loneliness and desire, vanity and desperation. Slavko's father, the reverend priest, is an absurd case of arrested development, a compulsive, self-centered neurotic. Page after page of *Zabobon* is devoted solely to rendering the mental ruminations of these beings. The opening lines set the predominant tone by plunging the reader unceremoniously into the priest's mind:

Якби зломилося колесо, то панотець уже би дав добру науку Йванові, як шанувати прикази господаря! Уже навіть прилагодив собі цілу промову на той випадок. Упирав би в Івана, що він їхав через ліс навмисне на те, аби поломити віз. . .[9]

Various mental and emotional experiences also lie at the core of Martovych's many stories. "Bulka" (The Roll) shows a trivial event triggering a character's paranoid concern for his reputation. "Nichnyi hist' " (Night Visitor) deals with a paranormal state (an encounter with the dead). "Prashchal'nyi vechir" (The Farewell Party) succeeds in communicating the anguish that awkward social situations produce in frightened and obsequious individuals. "Hrishnytsia" (The Sinner)—a dying woman's confession to her husband—reveals the peasant's mind-set and values. "Vidmina" (The Deviate) is a strange tale about a masochistic boy who provokes and willingly acquiesces to a vicious thrashing as means of revenge. "Persha svarka" (First Quarrel) is a snapshot of a coddled wife harboring spiteful thoughts against her husband because he has frustrated her frivolous desires.

One of Martovych's more exotic tales is "Kadryl' " (Quadrille). Written without a trace of humor, it infers that beneath an idealistic social veneer, man is little more than a sexual beast. The plot revolves around Volodymyr, a young theology student, who comes to a ball with the intention of finding a bride who would "comprehend his spiritual impulses," but settles for a woman with overwhelming sexual magnetism. Volodymyr's growing self-awareness of his inexorable moral capitulation forms the crux of the story.

"Na torzi" (At the Market) shows Martovych's psychological bent obliquely. Like a good number of his stories, this one is "episodic," given over almost entirely to chronicling an impecunious peasant's frustrating experience in buying nails. The climactic moment, however, has little to do with the main plot; rather, it concerns the peasant's wife whose role in the tale is otherwise negligible. At the very end, the narrative switches its focus to the woman, abandoning an essentially panoramic, external point of view in favor of an internal one which is identified entirely with her. Thanks to this dramatic reversal, Martovych establishes a sudden and unusual psychological intimacy with this woman, which simultaneously recasts the preceding events in terms of her relationship to the husband:

Проциха плакала: жаль їй було за дітьми, але жаль їй було й на діти, що через них та не має життя з чоловіком.[10]

[9] Martovych, *Tvory* (Cracow and Lviv, 1943), 2:5 (subsequent references to Martovych's *Tvory* are to this edition, unless otherwise noted). The opening was lost, so it is not known exactly how Martovych began the novel. Nonetheless, the general tendency is clear enough.
[10] Martovych, *Tvory*, 1:89.

The "psychological" moment in "Na torzi" is limited to this single sentence, but it illustrates an important point about Martovych: a tendency to project the subjective, deeply private world of his characters as an autonomous reality. While nearly all his work implies a not-so-subtle social message, the psyches he portrays are curiously asocial. They are most often emotionally disengaged from the "real" world, yet entangled by psychological forces. If they engage the social world, it is done in a highly peculiar, subjective manner that is impractical, incompetent, and unrealistic. Martovych's beings are not a "social species" (Balzac). Unlike Ivan Franko's, Panas Myrnyi's or Ivan Nechui-Levyts'kyi's heroes—most of whom are stirred by injustice or the experience of economic deprivation—Martovych's characters betray little social awareness and rarely have any civic goals. Their mind is not an instrument for reforming the world, but a snare from which they cannot escape. Typically, they struggle with their own selves or they do the bidding of their flawed psyches. Slavko and the priest are the most dramatic examples of this: one is a slave to superstition, the other to a compulsion; neither can transcend his own self to engage in useful social action. The priest's life, in fact, could be characterized as a continous mental game, as he seeks out one individual after another with whom to pursue pointless arguments. Others in *Zabobon* are also circumscribed by deep-seated, subliminal impulses. The personality of Kran'tsovs'ka can be traced to the emotional vacuum left by her wandering alcoholic husband. Slavko's mother (Imost') is an altogether withdrawn person, living a life of quiet desperation that is relieved slightly through recollections of a stranger and a blind devotion to her son.

Peasants, too, whether in *Zabobon* or in the stories, are most frequently presented to the reader as sentient beings rather than a social class with a grievance. They, as a rule, lead an elaborate mental life, but are socially ineffectual and dim-witted (the refrain "temnyi narid" is heard frequently in the prose). Their activism, as portrayed in various "election" stories, is nearly always a joke. As social entities, the peasants are petty, selfish, and spiteful (cf. "Strybozhyi darunok"); the commonweal rarely preoccupies their consciousness. Martovych suggests that there exists an impenetrable barrier between what might be called the "social" psyche and the "psychological" psyche. The two are mutually exclusive. This is made explicit in the example of Poturaichyn, the "radical" from *Zabobon*. A true "social" being, he is described as totally insensitive to the "human" dimension of the peasants:

Потурайчин був політичний аґітатор, поза програму своєї політичної партії нічого більше слухачам не роз'ясняв. Не почував навіть потреби дати їм щось більше

понад таке роз'яснення. А зрештою не був навіть *свідомий* того, чого прагне мужицька *душа* від нього довідатися.[11]

More often than not, Martovych's attention is lavished on a peasant's consciousness rather than on his economic plight. Consider, for example, a scene from "Os' posy moie" (To This Point, It's Mine). As Semen talks of lawyers and litigation, the narrative dwells on the mental confusion of his wife (Semenykha):

Семениха зупинилася й злякалася. Радитися—тепер! Льоху вже продали, й знов радитися! [Семен] [г]оворить: радитися, а розповідає за адуката. Казала би Семениха, що чоловік п'яний, та бо не тямить, аби він мав тепер де та й чого впитися. Казала би. . . Щось воно та не так. А Семен торочив далі. . .[12]

It is common to encounter Martovych's characters in states of introspection. "Thinking" verbs of all kinds are conspicuous (e.g., *hadaty*, *mirkuvaty*). Self-communion is explicitly underscored by expressions like "he says to himself." In "Khytryi Pan'ko" (Sly Pan'ko), the hero actually divides himself psychologically and exhorts his lazy half to action.[13] Hallucinations, fantasies, day-dreaming, wishful thinking, projection of thoughts into the future are some other devices of consciousness.[14] Interestingly enough, even animals think on occasion:

Збудилася зозуля, дивиться: аж свитає. Сама своїм очам не повірила. „Аби соловій сьогодні заспав?!"—думала.—Це не може бути!"[15]

In "Lumera" the narrator turns himself into a mare in order "to find out what she thinks."[16]

Martovych's narrative voice is generally unobtrusive and neutral. If, on occasion, there is a rise in pitch, the persona that emerges is prone to be more of a psychologist than a sociologist. "Muzhyts'ka smert'" (A Peasant Death) yields a borderline example:

Не лиш кождий нарід має свою бесіду, але й кожда суспільна кляса має хоть своє наріччя. Не в тім річ, як виговорюють слова, але як їх розуміють.[. . .] Коли би хтось ужив цього слова [дім] так, що воно мало би викликати на слухачеві якесь чуття, то іншого чуття зазнав би чоловік, що зріс у місті, а іншого той, хто виховався на селі. Та й навпаки. . .[17]

11 Martovych, *Tvory*, 2: 199.
12 Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 150.
13 Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 130.
14 For examples see "Ian," "Na torzi," "Nichnyi hist'," "Muzhyts'ka smert'," "Persha svarka."
15 Cf. "Viit," in Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 191.
16 Cf. Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 23.
17 Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 76.

Here social and psychological perceptions intermingle (i.e., class and feeling). The attitude is more clear-cut in the following example from *Zabonbon*:

А Славко? Він не догадувався, які почування задля нього носить Краньцовська в своїм серці. Був *загіпнотизований*, аби не розуміти те, що до нього говорять. Ще змалечку защеплений йому погляд, що лиш той людина, хто має диплом і золотий ковнір, виробило в нім переконання, що *він—чоловік гіршого типу*. . . .[18]

Equally "psychological" is the narrative position in "Proshchal'nyi vechir":

Дуже то немилий випадок, як тебе при людях сварять і плюгавлять. Усі ззираються на тебе, посміховуються, а ти червонійся й відгризайся, як знаєш. Але ще немиліший випадок, як тебе при людях хвалять, хоч нема защо. Бо тут ти й відгризтися нічим негоден; лиш маєш слухати, червоніти й пріти. . . .[19]

Passages like these point out that Martovych's model of human behavior derives more from psychology that it does from sociology. References to childhood, to sexuality, the use of words and phrases like "unconscious," "hypnotized," "fantasy," or "insane" strengthen this general impression.

As the question of narrative voice suggests, the introspective nature of Martovych's prose is very much a matter of technique. Addressing the formal issues requires first of all a recognition that Martovych worked in both the non-narrative genres (i.e., the dramatic) as well as in the first- and third-person modes. While results in all these forms have been deemed "psychological" by one critic or another, there can be no question that narrative posture offers discrete permutations in the revelation of the fictional mind.[20]

Although Martovych's exceptional ear for dialogue produced only a few dramatic works, among them the play "Politychna sprava" (A Matter of Politics) and the less clearly defined "Hrishnytsia," "Za toplyvo" (About Firewood), and "Za mezhu" (About the Boundary), one can actually speak of a dialogic tendency dominating all his work. This is evident in such first-person stories as "Ne-chytal'nyk" (The Non-Reader), which reads like a dramatic monologue, and in much of his third-person prose, which is rife with vibrant conversations. If we compare his dramatic pieces with the first- and third-person prose by isolating the dialogues in them, it is easy to see the continuity and consistency of his dialogue technique. Our first example comes from "Hrishnytsia" (the phonetic spelling is Martovych's):

18 Martovych, *Tvory*, 2:75–76.
19 Martovych, *Tvory*, 1:247.
20 The techniques of conveying consciousness in the first- and third-person are discussed very well in Dorrit Cohn, *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction* (Princeton, 1978). I have adopted some of Cohn's terminology and metaphors for describing internal states.

—Не втихомирюй мене, Андрійку, бо ти ще мало шо знаєш, то ще не все. Бо я. . . Та ти мині радше вперед у очи наплюй (бо так мині належиться), а потім слухай. *Я* тебе ніколи не *любила* та й тепер не *люблю*.
—Ти, біг-ме, Аничко, в горячці. Шо це ти таке говориш? Опам'ятайся! Таже ти на мене працювала, таже ти мене господарем зробила, таже ти для мене білє вижмакала, таже ти мині шосуботи голову змила, ти мині смашно їсти зварила. Шо тобі таке?
—Бо ти, Андрійку, ще не вирозумів, куди я говорю. *Я* люблю Йвана. *Я* вдивлювалася в него, як у образ. Без него мині ніщо не було миле [. . .] А ти цего не знаєш.

The practical differences between the above and a section of dialogue from the third-person *Zabobon* are insignificant:

—Добре йому так, пане добродію, —обізвавася Тріщин якимось таким голосом, що нагадував фірмана, як кричить на коні: „стій," коли вони обгоняться від мух і скидають нашильники.
—Цілий повіт, пане добродію, збунтував [Пан Потурайчин]! Тими читальнями, то, пане добродію, лиш ширить деморалізацію поміж народом. Якісь, пане добродію, узялися радикали, лібералн, масохісти. . . .[21]

The first-person story, "Ne-chytal'nyk," shows no formal differences from the works above. These are the opening lines:

—При келішку горівки я й побалакати, вважаєте, люблю, бо я старий, та чей не піду з парубками за льондрами гонити, о, ні-і![22]

But in what sense are these dialogic forms "psychological"? The answer lies clearly in their perfect mimicry of human locution, in their ability to individualize effectively each hero through speech. There is no question that the syntax, lexicon, and even the enunciation attributed to these characters yields very palpable psyches. It is hard not to see in the excerpt from *Zabobon* a pompous, conservative, self-assured, intolerant, and semi-educated mentality. Yet in agreeing with critics that it is appropriate to call this effect "psychological," one must stress that Martovych's dialogic technique has important limitations when it is contrasted to his third-person narratives. The drawback of his dialogues is that they are basically not self-reflective. While personality is revealed indirectly through speech, the reader does experience a thinking being. The character in such instances is never the subject of his own attention. In most of Martovych's dialogues/monologues, there is no true inside view of the character. In fact there is no pretence of thought; everything is handled as speech. The reader hears the protagonist's spoken, enunciated, physical voice, but is not privy to his thoughts. "Narodna nosha" (Folk Dress) and "Nichnyi hist' " are notable

21 Martovych, *Tvory*, 2: 247.
22 Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 1.

exceptions to this general rule primarily because their first-person narrators betray acute self-consciousness and offer an analysis of their own personal feelings and moods. Compare this "speech" from "Narodna nosha" to the dialogues that were cited above:

Отак я собі *розважав у своїй голові*, але вже на дорозі, як визволився з тої западні: із реставрації. Не йшов я, але тікав! Бо добре то приповідають, шо вдарити можна не тілько буком, але також і словом. *А я був битий і словами і своїми власними думками*! Отож утікав від цих побоїв, куди ноги несли.[23]

We thus come to the conclusion that it is through the third-person narrative mode that Martovych most thoroughly renders the "atmosphere of the mind" (to borrow a phrase from Henry James).[24] This technique, with its omniscient and impersonal manner of articulating the scene, exposes the muted "voice" of the mind very graphically; it creates the impression of a psychological space where thoughts, awareness, and consciousness are localized.

We have seen this technique at work to some extent above, especially in the excerpt from "Os' posy moie." The story "Muzhyts'ka smert' " contains another fine example. As Hryts', the principal character, lies dying in the presence of his family and neighbors, Martovych zeros in on his mental sensations:

. . . Гриць ніби відчуває, що найстарша донька, Василина, вже не дуже за ним жалує. Там у серці глибоко, в самім кутику, ворушиться несвідомо в неї бажання, щоби дєдя довго вже не карався на цім світі, щоби пішов там, куди справився. . . .[25]

And somewhat later:

Щоби сяк-так оправдати себе перед родиною [Гриць] удавав, що ще не вмирає. Але був переконаний, що йому ніхто не вірить. . . .[26]

While these are but short—and not necessarily representative—segments of the entire tale, they are typical of a frequently employed device. As is apparent, this inwardly directed narration renders complicated states of awareness, transmitting Hryts' 's simultaneous cognizance of self and others. There is a feeling that the character is reading other minds. Unlike dialogue, this scene is capable of penetrating to the "sub-verbal stratum [of the] mind."[27] Martovych's first-person narratives can neither achieve the same level of psychological intimacy nor convey this type of complex

23 Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 265.
24 Henry James, "The Art of Fiction," in *The Portable Henry James* (New York, 1956), p. 401.
25 Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 78.
26 Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 85.
27 Cohn, *Transparent Minds*, p. 43.

mental resonance. His dialogues recreate what one critic has referred to as "speech level" consciousness; the third-person technique evokes in Martovych the unverbalized or "prespeech level" of consciousness.[28]

The sophistication of this third-person technique can be better appreciated if we compare it to that of another writer. Below is a scene from Panas Myrnyi's *Khiba revut' voly, iak iasla povni?* The choice is arbitrary, although it was partially dictated by the fact that Myrnyi is one of the few Ukrainian writers whose "psychological analysis" has been studied.[29] In the following excerpt, the hero (Chipka) is observed while under the amorous spell of a woman he just met (the emphases both here and in the next quotation are mine and apply to the ensuing comments):

Ішов він такою ж тихою ходою, як і сюди, а може ще й тихшою,—та все думав та думав... А в серці—почував він прокидалось щось невідоме, чудне: *і важко мов, і легко, і сумно, й весело, і хочеться співати й хочеться плакати.... Сльози не ллються, а голос рветься; несподіваний сум обіймає голову; думка думку гонить: нігде пристати, ні за що зачепитися—так і ганяє за манюю... А перед очима*—зелена *керсетка, червона спідниця, знадний з усмішкою погляд,* червоні, *як кармазин, уста, з котрих виглядає рядок дрібних, як перли, зубів.... У його аж мороз пішов поза спиною...* „Оце так!!—промовив він уголос.—Чи не здурів, бува, я, чи не збожеволів?...

Now let us compare a roughly analogous scene from *Zabobon.* Here, too, Slavko is seen mulling over a recent meeting with a woman (Kran'tsovs'ka) who evokes in him strong sexual desires. Note how Martovych handles the portrayal of his subject's thoughts.

А Славко не був радий ні трохи. Ані одна справа не зложилася так, як він про це мріяв. Давно йому знакома зневіра закралася наново до його серця. *Це й з-полудня* [*мені*] *не варт іти. Нащо? На пусту балаканину. Але що сталося з його забобоном? Із тим забобоном, що завсіди справджувався. Хіба би він тепер Славка здурив? Це не може бути! Ніяким світом!* У ніщо, але до слова: в ніщо так Славко не вірив, як у той забобон. Тільки тепер якось вони оба не порозумілися.

Славко задумався. Задумався глибоко. Всі сили умиуслові зібрав докупи, напружив їх і радився з ними, в чім, він схибив свому забобонові. *Ага! Є,* [*я*] *найшов! Ой, який же він дурень! Сама доля дала йому притоку журитися, а він не журився! Адже зараза, зараза. Тільки було нею переляка тися, загризтися, а за те в Краньцовської збирав би самі тріюмфи. Також ні! Він собі байдуже про заразу. Зараз таки потішився, що вона його не вчепитсья.* Та хто знає, чи Славко здужає

[28] Robert Humphrey, *Stream of Consciousness in the Modern Novel* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), p. 3.

[29] Cf. M. P. Pyvovarov, *Maisternist' psykholohichnoho analizu: Roman "Poviia" Panasa Myrnoho* (Kiev, 1960). On the subject of psychological portrayal in literature see also: S. H. Myroniuk, "Psykholohichnyi analiz u noveli M. Kotsiubyns'koho 'Persona grata'," in *U vinok Mykhailu Kotsiubyns'komu* (Kiev, 1967), pp. 140–46; M. P. Kodak, *Psykholohizm sotsial'noi prozy* (Kiev, 1980).

журитися коли тою заразою так, як того треба на те, щоби його мрії здійснилися?! ***Але ще попробує. Попробує навіть піти до Краньцовської, бо почуває по собі, що щось його до неї дуже-дуже тягне. Не вірить навіть, чи вдалося б йому лишитися дома, хоч би й завзявся.***

Of the two authors, Myrnyi is clearly the more hackneyed; his portrayal of Chipka's mental state is at once static, very abstract ("і важко мов, і легко, і сумно, й весело, і хочеться співати й хочеться плакати. . .") and general ("думка думку гонить"). Martovych, on the other hand, is concrete and dynamic. Instead of reporting on Slavko's anxiety, he recreates it through a direct rendering of his swarming thoughts.

Observe that one and the other writer maintains a third-person narrative, both resort to tense shifts (from past to present) to achieve a psychological effect. Martovych's text, however, contains a number of nuances that give it a clear advantage over Myrnyi's. The latter alerts his reader that he is about to enter Chipka's mind by the phrase, "А в серці—почував він прокладалось щось невідоме, чудне." The sentences that follow are in the present tense (cf. italic text above), ostensibly to set off Chipka's thoughts from the past tense authorial narration. In fact, what Myrnyi tries to pass off as Chipka's thoughts sounds like another version of the narrator, but instead of being "objective," he now waxes lyrical. As if to compensate for this, the passage ends with Chipka *speaking* to himself out loud (cf. the bold text above). The over-all psychological effect is rather shallow.

If Martovych's text penetrates deeper into Slavko's consciousness, it is because it is more intricate and involved. Through subtle temporal, lexical, and syntactic transformations he modulates the third-person narrating voice, shifting it from an authorial position to one more closely resembling the subjective perspective of his character. Even though Martovych's passage is smooth and seamless, it actually contains several different narrational tones. First, there is the neutral, all-knowing narrator (cf. the regular type above). Punctuating this stratum are snippets of Slavko's own quoted thoughts, rendered in the present tense and in a way that suggests that they may be in the first-person (cf. italic bold; pronouns in brackets are mine). Finally, we have the authorial voice in a different guise: while maintaining the narrative past tense and third-person, it masquerades as Slavko's by adapting his peculiar reasoning, syntax, and lexicon.[30]

Other characters are also rendered through this method. One example is a passage depicting Kran'tsovs'ka's mind. Note how the narrator imperceptibly fuses with her personality, how sentences of outward description (normal text) alternate with an inner focus (italic text):

[30] On the use of these techniques by Western authors, see Cohn, *Transparent Minds*.

По цих словах вийшла до другої кімнати. Якийсь час шукала й найшла запечатаний лист. Взяла його в руки й застановлялася часочок над тим, чи би не вволити Славкову волю. *Не могла ніяк. Ще би за один поцілунок нічого їй не сталося. Але вона була певна, що він не вдоволиться одним. А тоді вона може заслабнути направду та й пролежати довгий час у ліжку. Зрештою боїться, що зі зденервовання може так поводитися супроти нього, що він це візьме за зневагу.* А опріч того зденервовання й біль голови додавали їй упертости. „*Адже,*"—думала собі,—„*я маю також право домагатися від першого поцілунку якоїсь приємности*"... Вернулася й показала Славкові лист.[31]

Among the stories, "Persha svarka" utilizes this technique to best advantage. Here is a passage showing Mrs. Dorozhyns'ka's frustration:

...Вона лишилася в сальоні коло столика, з хустиною коло ротика, проливаючи сльози.

Ах, пімститься, думала й гризла судорожно пальчики. *Покинути його. Поїхати додому до родичів.*

Та в тім біда, що родичі тільки й ждали на то, щоби її якнайборше з дому збутися. Партія така добра лучилася: пан Дорожинський—лікар, а вона мала всього три тисячі посагу. І дурний знав, що не вона йому, але він їй ласку зробив.[32]

The woman's see-sawing thought and moods are conveyed very well here: at first they are childishly spiteful, then more coldly realistic, finally angry. Throughout, the narrator maintains the character's perspective and adapts to her idiom.

For a writer who has such obvious talent for dialogue, Martovych often purposely avoids it to enhance the psychological effect. One notes, for example, that Slavko utters very few lines in *Zabobon*; in fact, he is close to being speechless. The reader experiences him primarily through the activity of his mind. Often, narrative summaries of conversations are provided in places where dialogue would be natural:

Як лиш повозка рушила, стратила одразу пані Краньцовська сумний настрій. *Зачала Славкові докоряти за те, що він тепер ніколи в них не буває. Дуже великий з нього самолюб. Бо коли зимовою порою нудьгував, тоді приходив до них, а тепер не хоче* [...].

Славко розумів цю бесіду зовсім дословно. Не важився доглупатися у ній якоїсь укритої думки. *Для того лиш виправдувався, що не мав коли* [...].

Краньцовська ж докоряла йому далі. *Певне, говорила, вона не може мати претенсії на ввагу мужчин таких молодих, як Славко, бо вже застара....*[33]

As is clear from the italicized text, these sentences could have easily been rendered as dialogue. By refraining, Martovych creates the distinct impres-

[31] Martovych, *Tvory*, 2: 179.
[32] Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 100.
[33] Martovych, *Tvory*, 2: 53–54; see also 68–69.

sion that these words are echoing in the minds of his characters, instead of their ears.

Martovych goes out of his way to endow even minor characters with a distinct psychological dimension. When such figures are introduced, attention is drawn to their internal state, rather than to gesture or physical appearance (which are often ignored). Take the portrayal of a judge in "Os' posy moie." Although his role is trivial, he nevertheless acquires a conspicuous psychological profile:

Суддя був *лютий*, бо фіякер його стряс, та й з того *голова розболіла*. Зачав кричати на Семена, чого за таку дрібницю процесується. „Погодіться!"—кричав. Але ні Семен, ні Юрко не знали, що робити. Суддя був *сердитий* ще й тому, що було аж два адвокати, та не міг справи вбити, значить: залагодити її так, аби мужики пішли собі з нічим додому, а він аби *не потребував протоколи списувати*.[34]

While physical details are missing, the psychological portrait of a corrupt, aggressive, slothful, and frustrated personality comes across clearly.

Similar instances occur in *Zabobon*. When Pazia, the cook, materializes in the novel for the first time her appearance is not described; her personality, on the other hand, is given solid elaboration:

Розгнівана Імость пішла до кухні, а кухарка, Пазя, побігла шукати панича-Славка. Вона залюбки взялася до цього діла, бо намагалася вже від довшого часу здибатися зі Славком чи не вдалось би їй прихилити собі Славкового серця. На тепер із тої причини не мала ніяких паскудних намірів. Та й не потребувала цього, бо була любаскою Івана. . . .[35]

Again, in chapter 4, while depicting a group assembled to discuss the reading room, Martovych suddenly highlights a village elder (the "Viit") by focusing on his temperament:

Війт *уважав себе за приятеля* панотцевого дому, для того з приходом Славка заборонював курити, аби панича не душило.[36]

The prominence given to peripheral psyches tends to create brief sideshows, mini-dramas in Martovych's work. A classic case of such a "psychological *intermedia*" occurs in "Muzhyts'ka smert'," when the reader's attention is momentarily deflected from the main story line by the intrusive consciousness of a tall woman, standing near Hryts' 's bedside. Ivanykha, as she is called, appears and disappears without serious repercussion for the story. But her brief spell on "stage" is memorable:

. . . Иваниха з Процихою стояли коло дверей. Молоденька Іваниха дуже несмілива. Страх їй прикро було, що дуже велика. Проциха стояла їй під груди. Іваниха

34 Martovych, *Tvory*, 1: 156.
35 Martovych, *Tvory*, 2: 15.
36 Martovych, *Tvory*, 2: 83.

чулася опущена бо кілька разів глипнула в бік на Проциху, не виділа нічого, тільки Процишине волосся. Ще й то її непокоїло, що не могла найти слова розради для Грицихи.[37]

As always in such cases, the passage represents a complete shift of narrative perspective to the point of view of this minor figure. Moreover, Martovych is not satisfied with making a point about the woman's physical stature: typically, he distills from it a psychological portrait.

There are other instances in the prose that illustrate Martovych's tendency to move adroitly from the physical to psychological realm, to "psychologize" an object or event so that it becomes a factor in a character's identity. Take, for example, in *Zabobon* the portraits of Pavlo Haievyi (the illiterate who wears glasses)[38] and Petro Oskamiuk (the peasant caught going beltless).[39] The glasses are an emblem of Haievyi's personality, his guileless pride; while Oskamiuk's inadvertent moment of "indecency" becomes an indelible mark on his psyche, the source of permanent humiliation. Each is portrayed through this single individualizing psychic stamp, which is employed like a musical leitmotif: whenever the reader encounters Haievyi, he always refers to his glasses; when Oskamiuk appears in a scene, he is fearful that someone might remember his embarrassing incident.

It has been said, quite justifiably, that Martovych is a "thoroughly tendentious writer."[40] This in no way detracts from his achievements, for he is that rare breed of storyteller who handles civic commitment dexterously and, from the reader's perspective, inoffensively. His psychological approach to character is very much a part of this tendentiousness, a sobering message about the intellectual and spiritual limitations of the human milieu he describes. In maneuvering the reader to their level of awareness, Martovych reveals that there is no self-knowledge among these people, and, what is worse, that there is no groping for meaning in life, no desire or even ability to comprehend their true condition. Although education and literacy are proffered as a distant hope, the overall view remains pessimistic: Martovych's characters are not on a spiritual or intellectual quest that ends in an epiphany. With the exception of Semen in "Os' posy moie," his beings cannot attain liberation from either their suffering or stupidity. Even in victory (cf. the election stories "Khytryi Pan'ko," "Smertel'na sprava"), the peasant's social and intellectual consciousness barely rises to a higher plateau. Slavko's mental anguish ends not in self-understanding, but self-

[37] Martovych, *Tvory*, 1:69.
[38] Cf. Martovych, *Tvory*, 2:24–25.
[39] Cf. Martovych, *Tvory*, 2:43–44.
[40] Hamorak [Stefanyk], "Talant bez seredovyshcha," p. xxxviii.

deception, illustrated by the fact that he seeks escape from his problems in a hopeless marriage. These are people on a psychological treadmill, from which they cannot step down. Their inwardness is ultimately unrewarding.

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The Problem of Ukrainian Orthodox Church Autonomy in the Hetmanate (1654–1780s)

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In 1648 a massive Cossack-peasant uprising swept the Polish administration and ruling elites from Ukraine. For a brief period, the revolution united the greater part of the Orthodox population. However, it was the Cossacks who provided the military strength that made the uprising possible and who replaced the Polish administration with their own institutions. Faced with a protracted struggle against Poland, the leader of the Cossacks, Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, made an agreement in 1654 with the Muscovite tsar, whereby, in return for military assistance and guarantees of autonomy, Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Ukrainian Cossack elite recognized the tsar's sovereignty. At that time, Khmel'nyts'kyi controlled most of Ukraine, but subsequently Right-Bank Ukraine (west of the Dnieper River) was retaken by Poland and only the Hetmanate, or Left-Bank Ukraine (east of the Dnieper), remained under the tsar's rule on the basis of the 1654 Treaty of Pereiaslav and its subsequent revisions. The Hetmanate continued to exist as a self-governing territory within the Russian Empire until its autonomy was abolished by Catherine II in the 1780s. This paper traces the fate of the Orthodox Church during the entire period of the Hetmanate's existence and attempts to determine the extent to which it was able to preserve elements of autonomy before being completely absorbed by the Russian Orthodox Church.[1]

At the time of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising of 1648, the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and Belorussia had made a dramatic recovery from its decline of the sixteenth century. Due to pressures from the Ukrainian nobility and the Cossacks, the Orthodox Church was again granted legal recognition by the Polish-Lithuanian government. Many of the important dioceses were won back from the Uniates, while the Orthodox lay brotherhoods continued to promote education and publishing. With Khmel'nyts'kyi's victories, the Church grew in stature and position. The Cossack administration handed over the Uniate and Roman Catholic Church property that they

[1] Some material in this article has been adapted from my book, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

occupied to the Orthodox clergy, and, in areas under Cossack control, the Orthodox Church became the state religion.[2]

The symbol of the unity of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and Belorussia was its head, the metropolitan of "Kiev, Halych, and all Rus' " who, in turn, was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. After the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy (1620), several outstanding metropolitans revived the prestige of the office. Perhaps the most eminent among them was Metropolitan Petro Mohyla (1632–1647), who regained considerable property from the Uniate Church, founded the Kiev Academy, authored scores of religious works, and commissioned the compilation and publication of the first Orthodox catechism.[3] His successor, Syl'vester Kosiv (1647–1657), continued Mohyla's programs while becoming an important political figure during the turbulent Khmel'nyts'kyi era.

As the political situation deteriorated and Ukraine was partitioned among several powers, the Kievan metropolitan had great difficulty in maintaining the unity of the Orthodox Church. Kosiv's successor, Dionysii Balaban (1657–1663), a supporter of Hetman Ivan Vyhovs'kyi's break with Muscovy, was unable to assert his authority on the Left Bank or even in the city of Kiev—both of which were controlled by Muscovy. The succeeding metropolitan, Iosyf Tukal's'kyi (1663–1675), who supported Hetman Petro Doroshenko's Turkish alliance, had to contend with a rival claimant, Antonii Vynnyts'kyi (1663–1679), and exercised jurisdiction over an even more limited territory. Meanwhile, the Muscovite authorities appointed various "administrators" for the territories of the Kiev metropolitanate on the Left Bank, but lacked the canonical authority to replace the duly elected metropolitan of Kiev.[4]

[2] The period is covered in Metropolitan Makarii (Bulgakov), *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 12 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1889–1903), vol. 12, and in Ivan Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii Ukrains'koi pravoslavnoi tserkvy*, 4 vols. (New York and South Bound Brook, N.J., 1955–1966), 2:5–64 (also in an abbreviated English translation: Ivan Wlasowsky, *Outline History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church*, 2 vols. to date (New York and South Bound Brook, N.J., 1974–1979).

[3] For the Mohyla period, see S. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1883–1898); and *The Kiev Mohyla Academy: Commemorating the 350th Anniversary of its Founding (1632)*, special issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, no. 1/2 (June 1984).

[4] The Church during "the Ruin" is described by Metropolitan Ilarion (Ivan Ohienko), *Ukrains'ka tserkva za chasy ruiny (1657–1687)* (Winnipeg, 1956); Natalia Carynnyk-Sinclair, *Die Unterstellung der Kiever Metropolie unter das Moskauer Patriarchat* (Munich, 1970); Makarii, *Istoriia*, vol. 12; and in Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys*, 2:299–343.

From the time of the 1654 Cossack-Muscovite alliance, the Muscovite authorities also attempted to subordinate the Ukrainian Church to the Moscow patriarch. On the whole, the Ukrainian higher clergy proved to be extremely hostile to the idea. First, they maintained a strong tradition of loyalty to the patriarch of Constantinople. Second, exposed to Western theological thinking and liturgical practices, they viewed Muscovite customs with disdain. Muscovite ecclesiastical circles, on the other hand, believed that Ukrainian practices were semi-heretical or Catholic. In fact, the Muscovites would rebaptize Ukrainians—even clerics—when they entered Muscovite service.[5]

Another impediment to a transfer of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was the political situation. Between 1654 and the 1680s, Ukraine experienced a most turbulent period: Muscovy, Poland, and the Ottoman Empire—all with Ukrainian allies—fought for mastery over Ukraine. In such circumstances it would have been folly to transfer ecclesiastical allegiance to the Moscow patriarch. It was conceivable that the pro-Polish Ukrainian faction would become victorious and the seat of the metropolitanate—Kiev—would remain under Polish influence. The continued existence of the Orthodox Church within the Commonwealth would have been seriously threatened if that Church was under the authority of Moscow.

Only in the 1680s with the final elimination of the pro-Polish Right-Bank Ukrainian hetmans and an approaching Polish-Russian alliance could the transfer of jurisdiction be accomplished. In 1685, under relentless pressure from Muscovite envoys and Hetman Ivan Samoilovych, a church synod in Kiev elected a pro-Muscovite candidate, Prince Gedeon Sviatopolk-Chertvertyns'kyi, as metropolitan. Despite this electoral victory, the pro-Muscovite party at the synod still faced strong opposition against any changes in the subordination of the Kievan metropolitan. Moreover, the canonicity of the synod was challenged because no church hierarch was present. But the civil authorities pressed on for a transfer of jurisdiction, ameliorating somewhat the objections of the clerics by having the tsar issue a special charter affirming the following privileges to the Kievan metropolitan: maintenance of an independent ecclesiastical court system, not subject to review by the patriarch; free election of the metropolitan (the patriarch's role was limited to the bestowal of his blessing); continued jurisdiction over all eparchies, bishops, hegumens, and monasteries; maintenance of an independent educational system and press; preservation of local

[5] K. V. Kharlampovych (Kharlampovich), *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'* (Kazan', 1914), pp. 149–366; V. Eingorn, *O snosheniiakh malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha* (Moscow, 1894).

ecclesiastical practices; confirmation of all wealth and property held by the Orthodox hierarchy; superiority of the Kievan metropolitan to all other hierarchs under the jurisdiction of the patriarch; and the requirement that the metropolitan consult with the hetman in dealing with eparchies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[6]

In order to obtain Orthodox canonical recognition, the transfer of jurisdiction still required approval by the patriarch of Constantinople. Through diplomatic pressures and bribery, the Muscovites secured the cooperation of the Porte, who in 1686 forced the patriarch of Constantinople to accede to the transfer. In 1686 the "Eternal Peace" concluded between the Commonwealth and Muscovy contained a provision that the Kievan metropolitan be under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch. Even before the completion of the transfer, Chertvertyns'kyi was forced by the Moscow patriarch to limit his title to metropolitan of "Kiev, Halych, and all of Little Russia."[7]

Theoretically, the subordination merely replaced the patriarch of Constantinople with that of Moscow. There remained a separate Church for Ukraine and Belorussia consisting of six eparchies: two in Left-Bank Ukraine under Ukrainian administration and Russian protection (Kiev and Chernihiv), and four in Poland-Lithuania (Lviv, Luts'k, Peremyshl' [Przemyśl], Mahilioŭ-Mstsislaŭ). The Kievan metropolitan was recognized as having jurisdiction over all of the mentioned eparchies.

In reality, a separate Ukrainian-Belorussian Church soon began to disintegrate and by the 1720s the Kiev metropolitan had lost all the dioceses under his jurisdiction except for his own Kiev eparchy. As early as 1688 the Chernihiv eparchy was removed from Kiev's jurisdiction and placed under the authority of the Moscow patriarch. In the early eighteenth century, the Lviv, Luts'k, and Peremyshl' sees became Uniate. The Mahilioŭ-Mstsislaŭ diocese in Belorussia remained Orthodox but fell under the direct jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch.[8] With the support of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, the Kiev metropolitan was able to obtain an auxiliary bishop residing in Pereiaslav (1702). Although the vicarship bolstered somewhat the sagging prestige of the Kievan metropolitan, it was hardly a subordinate eparchy. Eventually the Pereiaslav vicarship was transformed into a separate eparchy but subordinated directly to the holy synod (1733)—the

6 The subordination of the Kiev metropolitan to the Moscow patriarch has been exhaustively treated by S. A. Ternovskii, *Issledovanie o podchinenii Kievskoi metropolii Moskovskomu patriarkhatu* (Kiev, 1912), Kharlampovych, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 149–233, and Carynnyk-Sinclair, *Die Unterstellung*.

7 Kharlampovych, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 228, 247.

8 Kharlampovych, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 233–48, and Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys*, 2: 9–15.

synod had replaced the patriarch as the highest church authority.[9] While the metropolitan continued to use the title "Kiev, Halych, and all of Little Russia," his jurisdiction was in fact limited to the Kiev eparchy and the remaining Orthodox parishes in Polish-controlled Right-Bank Ukraine.

In the 1720s the holy synod took note of the contradiction between the metropolitan's actual position and his title. For the first time, the primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was not elected but appointed. Moreover, the synod appointed Varlaam Vonatovych (1722–1730) merely as archbishop of Kiev and Halych—in one stroke eliminating a metropolitan see that had existed for virtually 700 years. Although the synod disapproved of the phrase "Little Russia" in the metropolitan's title, in its own proclamations it did entitle Vonatovych "archbishop of Kiev, Halych, and Little Russia."[10] From 1722 to 1742 there were no Kievan metropolitans, only archbishops. Instead of being the center of a separate church, Kiev had become an eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Ironically, the demise of church autonomy coincided with increased Ukrainian influence in the Russian Orthodox Church. One of the first to make a brilliant career was Stefan Iavors'kyi, who became metropolitan of Riazan' and "administrator of the patriarchal throne" (Peter I did not permit the appointment of a patriarch). Feofan Prokopovych, former rector of the Kiev Academy, became an adviser and political apologist of Peter I. He was the principal author of the Petrine "Spiritual Regulations" that replaced the patriarchate with a state-controlled synodal system.[11] These are only two of the most outstanding examples. A steady stream of Ukrainian clergy went to Russia and played a prominent, at times dominant, role in the Russian Church. According to K. V. Kharlampovych, between 1700 and 1762 there were 120 metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops in the dioceses of Russia (excluding Ukraine and Belorussia). Of the 120 hierarchs seventy, or 55 percent, were Ukrainian or Belorussian, forty-seven, or 37 percent,

9 For the history of the Pereiaslav vicarship and eparchy, see V. Parkhomenko, *Ocherk istorii Pereiaslavsko-Borispol'skoi eparkhii (1733–1785) v sviazi s obshchim khodom malorossiiskoi zhizni togo vremeni* (Poltava, 1910).

10 M. L. Rybolovskii, "Varlaam Vonatovich, arkhiepiskop Kievskii, Galitskii i Malyia Rusi," *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* (hereafter *TKDA*), 1908, no. 5, pp. 99–104.

11 The impact of both Prokopovych and Iavors'kyi on the Russian Church is well described by I. Chistovich, *Feofan Prokopovych i ego vremia* (St. Petersburg, 1868), and by George Y. Shevelov in his two articles, "On Teofan Prokopovič as Writer and Preacher in His Kiev Period," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 211–23, and "Stefan Yavorsky and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Age of Peter I," *Slavonic and East European Review* 30, no. 74 (1951): 41–62 (both articles were reprinted as *Two Orthodox Ukrainian Churchmen of the Early Eighteenth Century: Teofan Prokopovych and Stefan Iavors'kyi* [Cambridge, Mass., 1985]).

were Russians, and the rest were Serbs, Romanians, Greeks, and others.[12] Ukrainians were prominent in the holy synod as hegumens of Russian monasteries and as rectors and teachers at the Moscow Academy and church seminaries. The influence of Ukrainians in the Russian Church was so great that Elizabeth issued a decree, requesting the synod also to consider Russians as candidates for bishops.[13]

Once the Ukrainian clerics arrived in Muscovy, they quickly subordinated any vestiges of loyalty to a Ukrainian Church to the good of a more universal Russian Orthodoxy. Thus, Iavors'kyi and Prokopovych clashed over the structure of the entire Russian Orthodox Church. Iavors'kyi, perhaps under Catholic influence, wanted to assure the independence of the church from the state and, therefore, continue the patriarchal system. A whole line of Ukrainian clergy in Russia supported and continued to promote Iavors'kyi's position. The conflict of the metropolitan of Rostov, Arsenii Matsiievych, with Catherine II offers just the most outstanding example of this trend.[14] Prokopovych, on the other hand, was willing to subordinate completely the church to civilian rule. He may have been influenced by Protestantism; at least, he was accused of heresy for allegedly incorporating Lutheran practices into Russian Orthodoxy.[15] With the backing of Peter, Prokopovych was victorious. But, for our purpose, the importance of their struggles is that they demonstrate that Ukrainians were predominant on both sides of the conflict, that the Ukrainian prelates certainly considered the Russian Orthodox Church, in its entirety, as their Church, and that they were vitally concerned for its growth and development.

Thus, the demise of the Ukrainian Church can be viewed as a twofold process: a response to strong outside political pressure and a voluntary movement from within the Church. Most of its traditional eparchies, under Polish pressure, had become Uniate. At the same time, the Moscow patriarchy whittled down most of the prerogatives of the Kievan metropolitan. Such a combination of events forced the Ukrainian Orthodox further into a merger with the Russian Church—which was at least protected by a powerful Orthodox tsar. A Muscophile faction had existed within the Ukrainian

12 Kharlampovych, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 459.

13 *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, 1st ser. (1649–1825), 45 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1830), vol. 14, no. 10216, pp. 58–59.

14 M. S. Popov, *Arsenii Matseevich i ego delo* (St. Petersburg, 1912).

15 A. B. Kartashev, "K voprosu o pravoslavii F. Prokopovicha," *Sbornik statei v chest' Dm. F. Kobeko* (St. Petersburg, 1913); Kharlampovych, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 469.

Orthodox since prior to the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising.[16] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, it had become dominant. The majority of Ukrainian prelates, clergy, hegumens, and monks soon identified with the Russian Orthodox Church. If they had any particularistic feelings they submerged them for the good of universal Orthodoxy and their own careers. Moreover, those Ukrainians who assumed positions in the center of power often opposed any particularism in Ukraine. It was a Ukrainian-dominated synod which had reduced the metropolitan of Kiev, Halych, and Little Russia to "archbishop of Kiev and Halych."[17]

While many Ukrainian clerics assumed a centralistic outlook, some of the clergy who remained or who returned to Ukraine did attempt at various times to reinstitute traditional elements. Therefore, throughout most of the eighteenth century, there was a struggle between Kievan clerical circles and the central ecclesiastical authorities (the patriarch and later the synod)—a struggle closely tied to the fate of Ukrainian autonomy in general. When there was a renascence of Ukrainian secular autonomy, it was also reflected in church matters. Thus, during the reign of Hetman Mazepa, the Pereiaslav vicarship was initiated and the Kievan metropolitan attempted to assert his authority over the Mahilioŭ eparchy.[18] After Mazepa's siding with Sweden and the subsequent suppression of Ukrainian autonomy, the metropolitanate was reduced to an archbishopric. The demands of archbishop Varlaam Vonatovych for restoration of the title of metropolitan resulted only in his removal and arrest (1730).[19]

The reign of Elizabeth brought a new era for both Ukrainian secular and church autonomy. Because of her morganatic marriage to Oleksii Rozumovs'kyi, a Ukrainian Cossack, and the influence of her Ukrainian confessor, Fedir Dubians'kyi, the empress was favorably disposed toward Ukrainian autonomy. Taking advantage of this, the Kiev clergy petitioned the empress to renew the metropolitan's title and in June 1743 Elizabeth agreed.[20]

16 The Muscophile tendencies of some of the Ukrainian clergy is best described by Eingorn, *O snosheniiakh malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva.*

17 Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys*, 2: 25.

18 Kharlampovych, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 238–39.

19 For a discussion of the petition to restore the title of "metropolitan," see F. A. Ternovskii, "Ocherki iz istorii Kievskoi eparkhii v XVIII stoletii, na osnovanii dokumentov sinodal'nogo arkhiva," *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora Letopistsa* 1 (1879): 186–89. With the ascendancy of Anna to the Russian throne, Vonatovych was removed from his position as archbishop and arrested (1730). These events are described by M. L. Rybolovskii, "Varlaam Vonatovich," *TKDA*, 1908, no. 11, pp. 313–40.

20 The petition does not contain the signature of then archbishop Rafail Zaborovs'kyi. Archbishop Zaborovs'kyi, knowing what happened to his predecessor, was probably exercising

The hopes of Ukrainian clerics were further fired by the appointment in 1750 of Oleksii Rozumovs'kyi's brother, Kyrylo, as hetman of Ukraine. In 1752 metropolitan Timofii Shcherbats'kyi forwarded a petition to the College of Foreign Affairs—the imperial agency in charge of Ukrainian secular affairs—which demanded the return to the Kievan metropolitan's jurisdiction of the diocese of Pereiaslav and the stauropegial Kiev Mezhyhiriia monastery, the restricted right to print liturgical and religious books (enjoyed by the stauropegial Pechers'ka Lavra), and the independent conduct of a church court, the decisions of which could not be appealed to the central authorities.[21] He then conducted elections in Pereiaslav for a new bishop. Undoubtedly, the metropolitan was supported in these actions by the hetman.[22]

When the synod heard about Metropolitan Shcherbats'kyi's demands and actions in Pereiaslav, it not only rejected all the points of the petition (which was not even addressed to the synod) but severely reprimanded the metropolitan for his attempt at electing a bishop for the Pereiaslav eparchy.[23] The synod was completely controlled by Ukrainians, again demonstrating that, once in the center of power, Ukrainian clerics defended the Orthodox Church of the empire in its entirety and were opposed to any particularistic tendencies within the Church in Ukraine.[24]

With Catherine II's assumption of the throne, the policies of the imperial government toward any kind of autonomy changed drastically. Catherine was determined to limit and abolish the autonomy of Russia's borderlands. During her reign, Hetman Rozumovs'kyi was forced to resign his position and Ukraine was gradually integrated into the empire. Similarly, the Church in Ukraine was divested of the last remnants of autonomy.[25]

Whatever Catherine's intentions, at the beginning of her reign, the Church in Ukraine became more differentiated from that of the central provinces. The secularization of church property—drafted under Peter III but carried out by Catherine in 1763—had not only meant the confiscation of much of the Church's property but also the strict regulation of the number

extreme caution. The petition of the Kiev clergy was published by Ternovskii, "Ocherki iz istorii Kievskoi eparkhii," pp. 192–93.

21 "Iz istorii bor'by malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva za svoi prava v 18 veke," *TKDA*, 1911, no. 7, pp. 237–41, 252.

22 The Pereiaslav elections and the support of Hetman Rozumovs'kyi is discussed by Parkhomenko, *Ocherk istorii*, pp. 26–29.

23 Parkhomenko, *Ocherk istorii*, p. 29, and I. G. Graevskii, "Kievskii mitropolit Timofei Shcherbatskii," *TKDA*, 1910, no. 2, pp. 144–51.

24 Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys*, 2: 30.

25 For a detailed analysis of the abolition of Ukrainian autonomy, see my *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*.

of monasteries, monks, and religious educational facilities (which now had to exist on state pensions). Since the Hetmanate was still autonomous, its Church escaped secularization and the clergy enjoyed greater personal, property, and customary rights than their counterparts in Russia.

Early in Catherine's reign the conflict over the metropolitan's title was renewed. Beginning in 1766, Metropolitan Arsenii Mohylians'kyi struggled continuously with the synod over the retention of "Little Russia" in his title. On 18 March 1770, Mohylians'kyi was formally forbidden to use the title "metropolitan of Kiev, Halych, and Little Russia" but permitted to be entitled only "metropolitan of Kiev and Halych."[26] The synod claimed that since Little Russia was much larger than the Kiev eparchy, the title was incorrect and inappropriate. If correctness of the title was the synod's sole concern, then the Kievan metropolitan also had no de facto jurisdiction over Halych, in far-off Galicia, but "Halych" was not dropped from the metropolitan's title. In reality, the synod disposed of an embarrassing reminder of the former unity and prerogatives of the Ukrainian Church without giving up theoretical claims to Galicia, which was now Uniate.

In 1767 Catherine provided one of the best sources for determining Ukrainian attitudes toward church autonomy. She called together a Legislative Commision, which was to draft a new legal code and consider a variety of reforms. Although the clergy did not participate directly in the Legislative Commission, the holy synod, as a government institution, presented a *nakaz* summarizing the general needs of the church. In order to assess the contemporary conditions, the synod turned to various bishops for written reports on the problems of their eparchies. In the Hetmanate such instructions were sent by the bishops of all three eparchies—Kiev, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav—as well as by the two stauropegial monasteries under the jurisdiction of the synod—the Kiev Caves Monastery and the Kiev Mezhyhiria Monastery.

Little is known about the procedure by which the clerical *nakazy* were composed. There is some evidence that local councils discussed what was to be included in the *nakaz*.[27] Judging from both the type of requests made and the signatures affixed to the *nakazy*, one may presume that there was considerable participation by the local clergy. The extant documents give no indication of any government pressure or interference.

26 P. Orlovskii, "Iskliuchenie iz titula mitropolitov kievskikh slov 'mitropolit vsei Maloi Rossii'," *Kievskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti* 18 (1894): 546–52.

27 For an analysis of the clerical *nakazy*, see my *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 162–66.

The *nakazy* differ considerably in length, organization, and scope. The Kiev *nakaz*, comprising 74 points in 127 pages of small print, contains a rather detailed history, a political program, and a myriad of practical complaints and requests. It is representative of all the clergy of the eparchy and does not distinguish sharply between the needs of the parish priests and those of monastic communities. On the other hand, the *nakazy* from Chernihiv and Pereiaslav eparchies are shorter, less historically oriented, and contain separate sections for the parish clergy and for the monks. Finally, the *nakazy* of the two independent monasteries are strictly limited to the activities and conditions of those monasteries.

The clerical *nakazy* reveal several strongly autonomist orientations. The Kievan metropolitan, Arsenii Mohylians'kyi, wanted an autonomous Orthodox Church for the Hetmanate under the leadership of the Kiev metropolitanate. Consequently, the Kiev *nakaz* contains a complete program for church autonomy: the recognition of the metropolitan's title as metropolitan of Kiev, Halych, and all Little Russia; the renewal of the custom of freely electing the Kievan metropolitan exclusively from among native Ukrainians; the transfer of the Kievan metropolitanate from the direct authority of the synod to the College of Foreign Affairs; a reminder that Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, and other eparchies were once under the jurisdiction of the Kiev metropolitan; a reminder that the stauropegial monasteries were also once under the jurisdiction of the Kiev metropolitan; and finally, a stipulation that hegumens were to be confirmed by the Kievan metropolitan or eparchial bishop and not directly by the holy synod. However, there is no indication that the bishops of Pereiaslav or Chernihiv or the independent monasteries had any desire to return to the jurisdiction of the Kievan metropolitan. In fact, the requests of the Kiev Caves Monastery and the Kiev Mezhyhiria Monastery to guarantee their independence, or stauropegial status, clearly indicate that they were opposed to any such consolidation of Ukrainian church authority. Consequently, the desire to resurrect an autonomous Ukrainian Orthodox Church was limited to the Kievan metropolitan and his followers.

Going beyond the concept of a separate autonomous church, the clergy sought to secure a whole complex of personal, property, and customary rights deeply ingrained in the Ukrainian legal and social structure. The parish clergy regarded their status as equal to that of the nobility, citing the Lithuanian Statute and various charters as evidence for their claim, and complained of Cossacks, noblemen, Russian officers, and others who did not show clerics proper respect. Property rights were of particular concern to the Ukrainian monasteries, since Russian monasteries had recently lost much of their wealth through state secularization. All the instructions

pressed for the reaffirmation under Ukrainian law of the monasteries' unlimited right to own, sell, buy, and inherit property.

The autonomist sentiments expressed in the petitions to the Legislative Commission and in Metropolitan Mohylians'kyi's struggle with the synod, probably delayed for a time any further imperial encroachment. However, the abolition of the Hetmanate's autonomy in the 1780s also resulted in the elimination of any local church peculiarities. First, the eparchial boundaries were readjusted to coincide with the new Russian provinces introduced into the Hetmanate. While, initially, this reorganization created considerable confusion, the various problems were soon surmounted, and the names and borders of the Ukrainian eparchies became coterminous with the newly created Kiev, Chernihiv, and Novhorod-Sivers'k provinces. Ecclesiastical jurisdication over church monasteries now also corresponded to the new eparchial boundaries, with the single exception of the Caves Monastery, which continued to deal directly with the synod.[28]

The territorial reform was only the first step in a renewed effort at integrating Ukrainian eparchies into the imperial system. With the help of an accommodating Kievan metropolitan, Samuil Myslavs'kyi, the imperial authorities proceeded with the next stage in the dismantlement of Ukrainian church autonomy—the secularization of church wealth. While confiscating church property and income, the authorities listed the amounts designated for the upkeep of each school, episcopal residence, and approved monastery, as well as for the income of the Ukrainian bishops. A major problem encountered was that there were many more Ukrainian monasteries and convents than those provided for by the government. Thus, forty-two institutions would have to close, dispossessing 466 monks, 510 nuns, and 29 monastic superiors. When the authorities realized the magnitude of this dislocation, they permitted the temporary continuation of several monasteries originally scheduled for closure and provided for the gradual absorption of the displaced monks and nuns by various monasteries of the empire. Although its numbers were greatly reduced, monastic life returned to normal. Yet, the change effected was indeed profound, for the Ukrainian monks and nuns who remained were, in reality, virtual state employees.

[28] For church reorganization and integration into an imperial system, see my *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 223–33; and Ivan M. Pokrovskii, *Russkie eparkhii v XVI–XIX vv.; ikh otkrytie, sostav i peredely. Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo i geograficheskogo issledovaniia*, 2 vols. (Kazan', 1897–1913), 2:717–34.

Increased state control and more rigid ecclesiastical regulations were not limited to monastic life but applied also to the parish clergy. A 1778 edict allocated a fixed amount of land, meadows, orchards, and other sources of income to each priest. Another decree regulated the number of priests, deacons, cantors, and other church servitors to be maintained by each parish and required that all clerical appointments be approved by the local bishop. These *ukazy* shifted some of the control over the local clergy from the community to the bishops. Eventually, in the nineteenth century, community control of parish affairs was quite limited.

A series of educational reforms further weakened local customs. The establishment of regular seminaries with standardized curriculum and texts effectively eliminated any local liturgical and customary peculiarities. Even the famous Kiev Academy—which up to this time provided a general education for members of all social groups—was revamped into a standardized imperial seminary. Metropolitan Myslavs'kyi launched a campaign at the academy to maintain the purity of the Russian language. Despite these efforts, some of the academy staff confessed to the metropolitan that they were "unable to rid themselves of their Little Russian manner of speech."[29]

In conclusion, from the time Ukraine came under Muscovite protection in 1654 to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Orthodox Church in the Hetmanate underwent a profound metamorphosis. Between 1654 and 1685 the Ukrainian-Belorussian Church struggled to maintain its independence under the nominal ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople. Although guaranteed its autonomy, the separate Ukrainian-Belorussian Church disintegrated soon after coming under the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch (1686). This rapid demise was due to both external pressures and internal developments. The loss of most of its eparchies to the Uniates in Right-Bank Ukraine and the direct subordination of the Chernihiv and Mahilioŭ eparchies to the Moscow patriarch reduced the jurisdiction of the Kiev metropolitan from six eparchies to the single one of Kiev. At the same time, a considerable Muscophile faction among the clergy pushed the Ukrainian Church further toward a complete merger with the Russian Orthodox Church.

Although the separate Ukrainian Orthodox Church ceased to exist, its memory was cherished by some members of the higher clergy. At appropriate times, particularly when the Hetmanate's autonomy reemerged, these clergymen attempted to renew some of the rights of the Kiev metropolia. The metropolitans wanted to maintain the title "Metropolitan of Kiev, Halych, and Little Russia," and attempted to subordinate at least one

[29] F. Rozhdestvenskii, "Samuil Mislavskii, mitropolit Kievskii," *TKDA*, 1877, no. 5, p. 304.

eparchy in addition to Kiev. But these attempts were frustrated by the synod, which, at least in the first half of the eighteenth century, was heavily influenced, if not dominated, by Ukrainians. The actions of the synod show that most of the Ukrainian clergymen who went to Russia identified with a universal, imperial Orthodox Church and would not tolerate any signs of Ukrainian church particularism.

Not only the rights of the Kiev metropolitan—which were not recognized by the clergy of the Hetmanate's other eparchies—but also various peculiarities in social structure, legal relationships, and customs differentiated the eparchies of the Hetmanate from others in the empire. With the abolition of Ukrainian autonomy and the introduction of imperial norms, most of these peculiarities were erased. Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century, the Orthodox Church in the Hetmanate was completely integrated into Russian State Orthodoxy. Its eparchies were adjusted by the synod and secular authorities at will. The Church's wealth had been confiscated and its bishops, hegumens, priests, and monastics had become virtual state employees. The state determined the number of priests, deacons, and other church personnel and allocated church finances. The Ukrainian clergy were required to follow the "Spiritual Regulations" issued by the synod. The only surviving peculiarities were those perpetrated by folk traditions: wedding, baptismal, and funeral songs; native pronunciation of Church Slavonic in liturgical services; and local devotional songs and music.

Arlington, Virginia

Collateral Succession in Kievan Rus'

NANCY SHIELDS KOLLMANN

> If I set myself on my father's throne I shall have war with Sviatopolk, since it was his father's throne before.[1]

Despite Grand Prince Volodimer Monomakh's eloquent expression of respect for his cousin's claim to the grand-princely throne, historians have found little regularity in dynastic succession in early Kiev. Bitter internecine strife, brothers killing brothers, and out-and-out dynastic war characterize accounts of Kievan politics from the death of Volodimer the Great in 1015 to the dissolution of Kievan unity by the mid-twelfth century. Even the agreement at Liubech in 1097, which affirmed the permanent possession of specific lands by specific lineages, went only a short way toward keeping peace among the proliferating lineages of the Rurikid clan.[2] But behind its seeming chaos, succession to the Kievan throne can be shown to have followed consistent patterns. This essay examines some of them.

Kiev's ruling dynasty observed a "staircase" system of political succession, said to have worked in the following manner.[3] Members of the dynasty were assigned territories for their upkeep in the order of their genealogical seniority; when the most senior kinsman, the grand prince, died, the next legitimate heir left his principality and moved to Kiev. All lesser heirs then moved to the principality next up on the "ladder." S. M. Solov'ev gave particular attention to these customs, summarized deftly by Kliuchevskii:

> All the surviving princes by their degree of seniority constituted one genealogical ladder. Similarly all the Rus' land was a ladder of regions ranked according to their significance and profitability. The order of princely landholding was based on the exact correlation of ranks in both these ladders, genealogical and territorial, the ladder of individuals and the ladder of regions.[4]

[1] *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter *PSRL*), 37 vols. to date (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Leningrad, 1841–), 1: col. 217 (6601).

[2] *PSRL* 1: cols. 256–57; 2: cols. 230–31 (both 6605).

[3] The "staircase" analogy is cited in a sixteenth-century chronicle: *PSRL* 10: 26 (6704).

[4] V. O. Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoi istorii*, in *Sochineniia v vos'mi tomakh*, 8 vols. (Moscow, 1956–59), 1: 175–76; S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, 29 vols. in 15 books (Moscow, 1959–66), bk. 1, vol. 2: 343–49; see also his "O rodovykh otnosheniiakh mezhdu kniaz'iami drevnei Rusi," *Moskovskii uchenyi i literaturnyi sbornik* 1 (1846): 203–15.

Whether this neat scheme actually worked or was ever more than a historian's conjecture, however, is a source of controversy, particularly concerning the territorial aspects of succession. A. D. Stokes goes so far as to say that the constant transfer of land among clan members, intended to maintain family solidarity and control over a vast and diverse realm, "never worked." He argues that a "staircase" of territories was never formalized as clan custom, but was worked out by Iaroslav's heirs as a temporary expediency, and that land transfers ran counter to the clan's general desire to associate territories permanently with lineages.[5] It was that preference that was formalized in the Liubech agreement of 1097.

Stokes is correct that the Rurikid clan continually differentiated itself into separate lines, often associated with appanage territories. But he perhaps too quickly denies that territorial transfer was an intended part of sovereign succession. Omeljan Pritsak, for example, argues that land transfer did accompany political succession in Kiev, but in a pattern more complex than that summarized by Kliuchevskii. Pritsak asserts that the Rurikids followed practices of political succession derived from Turko-Altaic nomadic societies, specifically from the Khazars, with whom they had close political and economic contacts.[6]

Pritsak finds that in the tenth and eleventh centuries grand princes of Kiev devolved their territorial possessions in three distinct patterns: some of their lands they dispersed according to a traditional Turkic "home-hearth" system, whereby the youngest sons received the father's role and key possessions.[7] In the Kievan case, for example, this meant that the principalities of Kiev and Berestovo and the key trade centers of Smolensk and Pskov went to Volodimer the Great's youngest sons. In addition, Rurikid rulers distributed some previously autonomous principalities as appanage possessions, to be passed down in the lineage of the original recipient; these lands included Polatsk (Polotsk), Turov, the Drevlianian land, and Tmutorokan'. Finally, some four areas were reserved for successive inheritance in a

[5] A. D. Stokes, "The System of Succession to the Thrones of Russia, 1054–1113," in R. Auty, L. R. Lewitter, and A. P. Vlasto, eds., *Gorski Vijenats: A Garland of Essays offered to Professor Elizabeth Mary Hill* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 268–75.

[6] On Khazar-Rus' relations, see Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, vol. 1: *Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), passim, esp. pp. 25, 28, 582. On such Turkic succession systems, see L. N. Gumilev, "Udel'no-lestvichnaia sistema u tiurok v VI–VIII vekakh," *Sovetskaia ètnografiia*, 1959, no. 3, pp. 11–25.

[7] On such "home-hearth" systems, see B. Ia. Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi stroi mongolov: Mongol'skii kochevoi feodalizm* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 54–55, 99; Lawrence Krader, *Social Organization of Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads* (The Hague, 1963), p. 91.

"staircase" system: Novgorod, Rostov, Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi, Murom.[8] Thus the clan simultaneously ceded territorially based lineages to some members and maintained frequent transfers of land among others. Pritsak's idea that the youngest sons had rights to the grand-princely throne superior to their eldest brothers is problematic, since no younger son successfully defended such a claim from the death of Grand Prince Volodimer the Great.[9] But Pritsak's complex analysis accounts for the varied patterns of land devolution evident among the early Rurikids, and reveals consistency in the often seemingly chaotic patterns of territorial and political inheritance.

Turning to the other aspect of the "staircase" succession system, genealogical seniority, which is our focus here, historians generally assume that the system described by Solov'ev and Kliuchevskii worked, but they emphasize the severe internecine tensions that undermined it.[10] But correlation of genealogical position in the clan with accession to the grand-princely throne shows that internecine conflict generally did not overturn regular succession. Hand in hand with the varied patterns of land devolution analyzed by Pritsak, respect for genealogical seniority helped the Rurikids to bring order to sovereign succession in a proliferating dynasty. When internecine quarrels broke out, as they frequently did, they indicate ambitious kinsmen's impatience with the rules of succession, not the absence of such rules.

Genealogical succession to the grand-princely throne in Kiev in the tenth through mid-twelfth century can be shown to be collateral: men passed the throne from brother to brother and then across to cousins before moving to nephews in the next generation. Men in the various lines of descent then succeeded collaterally in order from the eldest eligible line to the youngest. In other words, succession was not linear (father to son) or simply lateral (succession across brothers, but not across lines to cousins). Such a system may seem too unwieldy in actual fact: as descendants proliferated, younger nephews, cousins, and second cousins might be reluctant to wait the many years before their elder kinsmen died off in succession. Such unwieldy

[8] Omeljan Pritsak, "The System of Government and Foreign Policy of Volodimer the Great," unpubl. ms. Also lecture on 6 March 1980 in the course, "Kievan Rus' and Its Western Successors," Harvard University.

[9] In support of Pritsak's view, however, see George Vernadsky's comments about Volodimer the Great and Iaroslav the Wise favoring their younger sons: *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948), pp. 75, 83.

[10] Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, bk. 1, vol. 2, chaps. 1–4; Kliuchevskii, *Kurs*, 1:169–205, 337–50; A. I. Markevich, *Istoriia mestnichestva v Moskovskom gosudarstve v XV–XVIII veke* (Odessa, 1888), pp. 56–92; Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, pp. 71–98, 214–20; John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200–1304* (London, 1983), passim and comment on pp. 162–63.

eventualities, however, rarely arose. The human situation and a simple rule imposed on the succession system ensured that the circle of legitimate successors stayed at a manageable size.

The direct and indirect effects of mortality, for example, limited the number of lines eligible to win political position. Fewer collateral lines than one would expect actually survived to participate in the succession, since men frequently died without sons who survived to adulthood (see genealogical chart). In addition, political custom prevented a man from holding a political post not held by his father. This is the opposite of Volodimer Monomakh's expressed respect for a man's right to succeed to a throne his father had already held. Solov'ev called this exclusion of non-sovereign lines the *izgoi* principle.[11] This rule, and the expanding economic opportunities of the Rus' area in this period, encouraged kinsmen to form lines of descent independent of the clan's succession system. This, too, simplified sovereign succession. Thus the eventuality of, say, 24 great-grandsons of a progenitor impatiently waiting for each others' deaths was circumvented; rarely did any one generation possess more than three legitimate collateral heirs (see chart).

Such succession can be seen in practice in the history of the Rurikid dynasty from its founding to the rise of the grand principality of Volodimer as a rival to Kiev in the mid-twelfth century. We will examine that succession, showing how it was simplified by the *izgoi* principle and by natural mortality, and showing how segmentation within the clan complemented external forces of political and economic change ultimately to undermine clan solidarity. We shall not pause to detail internecine struggles, but will rather concentrate on the consistency of the succession.

Succession moved simply among the tenth-century Rurikids.[12] Igor' 's sole son Sviatoslav inherited Kiev from him in 957; he was succeeded by his eldest son Iaropolk from 972 to 980. Supreme authority then moved to Sviatopolk's third son Volodimer ("the Great"), since the second son Oleg had predeceased Iaropolk. Grand Prince Volodimer, who was later canonized for his role in christianizing Rus' in 988, ruled from 980 to 1015.

11 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, bk. 1, vol. 2, p. 347; see also "O rodovykh otnosheniiakh."

12 Sources for this genealogy include the excellent work of Julius Forssman, *Die Beziehungen altrussischer Fürstengeschlechter zu Westeuropa: Portfolio* (Bern, 1970), charts 1–9; and Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, *Genealogia: Tablice* (Warsaw, 1959), charts 21–34. I have double-checked in primary sources those details on which these two sources disagree. Other compendia have to be double-checked for accuracy: A. V. Èkzempliarskii, *Velikie i udel'nye kniaz'ia severnoi Rusi v tatarskii period, s 1238 po 1505 g.*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1889–91), addenda; and N. de Baumgarten, "Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Riurikides russes du X au XIII siècle," *Orientalia Christiana* 9, no. 35 (May 1927) and idem, "Généalogies des branches régnantes de Riurikides du XIIIe au XVIe siècle," ibid., 25, no. 95 (June 1934).

Volodimer had twelve sons, only two of whom actually lived to succeed him. The eldest, Vysheslav, died in 1010 without heirs. The next, Iziaslav, had predeceased Volodimer in 1001, creating an *izgoi* line in Polatsk that subsequently contested the succession but failed to establish a legitimate claim to the throne.[13] Sviatopolk, the third son, succeeded despite opposition from numerous brothers and ruled until his death in dynastic strife in 1019. He was succeeded by Volodimer's fourth son Iaroslav ("the Wise"), who ruled a tacitly divided realm in consort with his younger brother and prospective heir, M'stislav of Tmutorokan', until the latter's death in 1036. But germane to our interests now is that Iaroslav alone held the title of grand prince and position of seniority in the dynasty. When Iaroslav died in 1054, all his brothers had died before him (see chart). The succession went to the next generation in his own line, since no other surviving line consisted of direct descendants of a grand prince of Kiev (Sviatopolk had had no sons).

Grand-princely succession thus far, then, respected genealogical seniority. It was by no means pacific, however, not the least because the men vying for power were often half-brothers representing various factions. Ambitious grand princes did not hesitate to use all means to ensure a smooth succession: Boris and Gleb's murders in 1015 eliminated them as future competitors, and Sudislav's imprisonment by Iaroslav from 1035 to 1059 effectively, albeit improperly, excluded him from competition. He died in 1065, freed but apparently prohibited from claiming his rightful succession by the descendants of the man who had imprisoned him.

That man, Iaroslav the Wise, was therefore followed by fairly regular lateral succession across the line of his sons. Although he had seven sons, only three achieved the throne. The eldest, Ilia, died in 1020; the second, Volodimer, similarly predeceased his father, in 1052. He founded an *izgoi* line that eventually settled in Halych. Iaroslav was therefore succeeded by his third son, Iziaslav, who ruled amid marked discontent among *izgoi* and legitimate heirs alike. Iziaslav held his claim to the throne more or less continually from 1054 until his murder in 1078 and survived several serious challenges to his title. In 1068, for example, Iziaslav's first cousin once removed in an elder *izgoi* line, Prince Vseslav Briacheslavich of Polatsk, seized the Kievan throne for a mere six months; from 1073 through 1076 Iziaslav's next younger brother, Sviatoslav, took the throne prematurely. He died in 1076, and Iziaslav reassumed the throne for two more years.

13 This was the line of Vseslav Briacheslavich: Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, bk. 1, vol. 2, pp. 352–56. Vernadsky notes that Polatsk stayed "aloof" in the quarrels over succession in this era: *Kievan Russia*, pp. 76, 84.

This left Sviatoslav's descendants excluded from the succession, technically, as *izgoi*, but in subsequent generations they frequently challenged Kievan succession from their appanage home of Chernihiv. Iziaslav was succeeded by his proper heir in 1078, his younger brother Vsevolod, who himself had tried to hurry along his succession by seizing the throne in 1076 when the usurper Sviatoslav died. But Iziaslav's more proper claim had held. The competitors for the throne, then, included recalcitrant *izgoi* princes, whose claim was never successful, and two impatient collateral heirs. Rather than chaos, strain and competition within a recognized succession system are apparent.

Vsevolod sustained the grand-princely title despite the disaffection of Sviatoslav's *izgoi* sons until 1093; two younger brothers, Viacheslav and Igor', had predeceased Grand Prince Iziaslav and only Igor' left descendants, in an *izgoi* line in Hrodna. In the next generation only the sons of Iziaslav and Vsevolod maintained the right to succeed, although many men were contained in this generation. *Izgoi* lines descended from Iziaslav Volodimerovich (Polatsk), Volodimer Iaroslavich (Halych), Sviatoslav Iaroslavich the usurper (Chernihiv) and Igor' Iaroslavich (Hrodna). As we suggested above, the potentially unwieldy succession had been simplified by the *izgoi* rule and high mortality.

Among the great-grandsons of Volodimer the Great, only one son of Iziaslav and two of Vsevolod survived to take the throne. Vsevolod was succeeded properly in 1093 by his nephew, Sviatopolk Iziaslavich; Sviatopolk's elder brothers had died—Iaropolk was killed in 1087 and M'stislav died in 1069—both leaving *izgoi* lines. Succession then was properly collateral, but tension among the kinsmen remained high. The Liubech agreement assuring the territorial claims of established lineages can therefore be seen as a self-regulating measure to adjust, but not abandon, familial inheritance patterns. Sviatopolk was followed collaterally by his cousin Volodimer Vsevolodovich ("Monomakh") in 1113, despite initial disturbances at his accession. Since Volodimer Monomakh's younger brother Rostislav had died without heirs in 1093, when Monomakh died in 1125, succession went to the next generation. There were eligible recipients in his own line and probably in the senior line of Sviatopolk Iziaslavich. Sviatopolk had two sons who predeceased Volodimer Monomakh (M'stislav and Iaroslav in 1099 and 1123, respectively) and two who died a few years after Monomakh (Briacheslav in 1127 and Iziaslav in 1128).[14] If

[14] Forssman includes M'stislav, and omits Briacheslav and Iziaslav: *Die Beziehungen*, table 4. But see chronicle references to the deaths of the younger two: *PSRL* 1: cols. 296, 299 (6635).

this information is correct, then their failure to challenge Monomakh's line successfully might bespeak a growing clan tolerance for sovereign inheritance within, not across, lineages.

Monomakh was thus succeeded by his own eldest son M'stislav, who remained grand prince from 1125 to his death in 1132. His two next younger brothers, Iziaslav and Sviatoslav, had predeceased him in 1097 and 1114, and he was followed by Iaropolk, who ruled from 1132 to 1139. He died without heirs, his two recorded sons having predeceased him. Up until this point, then, collateral succession remained a stabilizing principle amid bitter struggles among contentious kin. In the next decades, however, the erosion of clan solidarity and of Kievan political unity is graphically illustrated by the breakdown of succession.

In the next twenty years two brothers of M'stislav Volodimerovich vied for the throne, not only with each other, but with descendants of the usurper Sviatoslav (the Chernihiv princes) and also with M'stislav's own sons, whose pretensions were premature. At Iaropolk's death in 1139, the rightful contender Viacheslav Volodimerovich lost the throne to Vsevolod Ol'govich of Chernihiv, whose claim was improper since his father had not been grand prince and his grandfather had usurped the post in 1073. When this grand prince died in 1146, his younger brother Igor' took the throne briefly and then was ousted. The throne should have reverted to the rightful heir, Prince Viacheslav Volodimerovich, following the precedent set after the death in 1076 of the previous successful usurper, Prince Sviatoslav Iaroslavich. But precedent failed, and the post went not collaterally but to the next generation, to Viacheslav's nephew Iziaslav, son of M'stislav Volodimerovich. Iziaslav should have waited until the deaths of his two elder uncles, Viacheslav and Iurii ("Dolgorukii") before pressing his claim.

From 1146 to 1154 the uncles Viacheslav and Iurii Dolgorukii Volodimerovichi fought among themselves and with their nephew Iziaslav. Viacheslav and Iziaslav both died in 1154, but Iurii Dolgorukii's then proper succession was contested by his nephew, Rostislav, M'stislav's sixth son (the third, fourth, and fifth sons had predeceased Iziaslav). Only in 1157, after Iurii had died as well, did the ambitious and impatient sons of M'stislav Volodimerovich hold the throne legitimately. But they were left to defend their positions against the ever recalcitrant *izgoi* Chernihiv princes, while Iurii Dolgorukii's line in Northeast Rus' increasingly turned its back on Kiev in favor of Suzdalia's inviting opportunities.

This era, then, after M'stislav's death in 1132 to his son Rostislav's proper assumption of the Kiev throne in the 1150s, is especially significant in the history of the Rurikid clan. It witnessed the first instance, although only partially successful, of lineal descendants (the sons of M'stislav)

denying their kinsmen in the previous generation legitimate succession. It reveals the extreme tension created by a collateral system in a growing family, in which cousins have to wait for power. And it implies the preference of families to avoid such collateral situations by opting out of the larger clan to found their own lineages in independent areas. Thus, among numerous other lineages, the *izgoi* Halych line happily prospered in the west in this era, while the Rostov-Vladimir princes claimed sovereignty as grand princes of Vladimir—each removing themselves from a kin group in whose collateral succession system they were ineligible or not highly placed. But it is important to point out that as these lines set up smaller kin units more appropriate to political realities, as a rule they did not abandon collateral succession. In Northeast Rus', for example, the proliferating descendants of Iurii Dolgorukii, with the notable exception of the Moscow princes, maintained collateral succession in principalities in Tver', Rostov, Suzdal' and elsewhere.[15]

This brief analysis of genealogical succession to the grand-princely throne in Kiev, stripped of the details of turbulent minorities, step-brothers' rivalries, conflicting foreign policy interests, and occasional triumvirate cooperation, shows remarkable regularity. The clan observed whenever possible succession across collateral lines, but simplified that succession by excluding descendants of men who had not themselves been legitimate grand princes. Territorial resources for *izgoi* lines and prospective heirs were plentiful enough to enable such exclusionary and regulating mechanisms. The high mortality suffered by this military elite in battle and illness further simplified the succession, often paring down sets of numerous brothers to a mere one or two heirs. Princes also resorted to imprisonment and murder to eliminate legitimate contenders. Tension was endemic, but respect for genealogical seniority was apparently deeply imbedded; it underwrote the succession of legitimate over illegitimate contenders for over 200 years. From 912 to the 1150s the men who succeeded to the

[15] In Rostov, for example, an appanage line in Uglich was apparently illegitimately excluded from succession in 1238; from then on the succession was lateral among the descendants of Vasyl'ko Konstantinovich. In 1331, however, the throne went from father to son (Andrei Fedorovich, 1331–60) linearly, bypassing an uncle who reclaimed the throne briefly from 1360–64 (see Dworzaczek, *Genealogia: Tablice*, chart 26). The Tver' princes segmented into appanage lines in Kholm and Dorogobuzh, but the succession remained lateral within each line to the mid-fifteenth century (ibid., chart 25). In Suzdal' the succession was lateral from 1264 through 1387 (ibid., chart 24), and in Riazan' it was collateral from 1145 through 1342, with a brief usurpation by a nephew in 1306–8 (ibid., chart 30).

John Fennell agrees that what he calls "lateral succession" was generally maintained in the thirteenth century in all branches of the clan: *Crisis*, pp. 5, 9, 11, 106, 110, 162–64.

grand-princely throne of Kiev were those, with few exceptions, who were supposed to, those genealogically senior in the Rurikid clan as a whole.

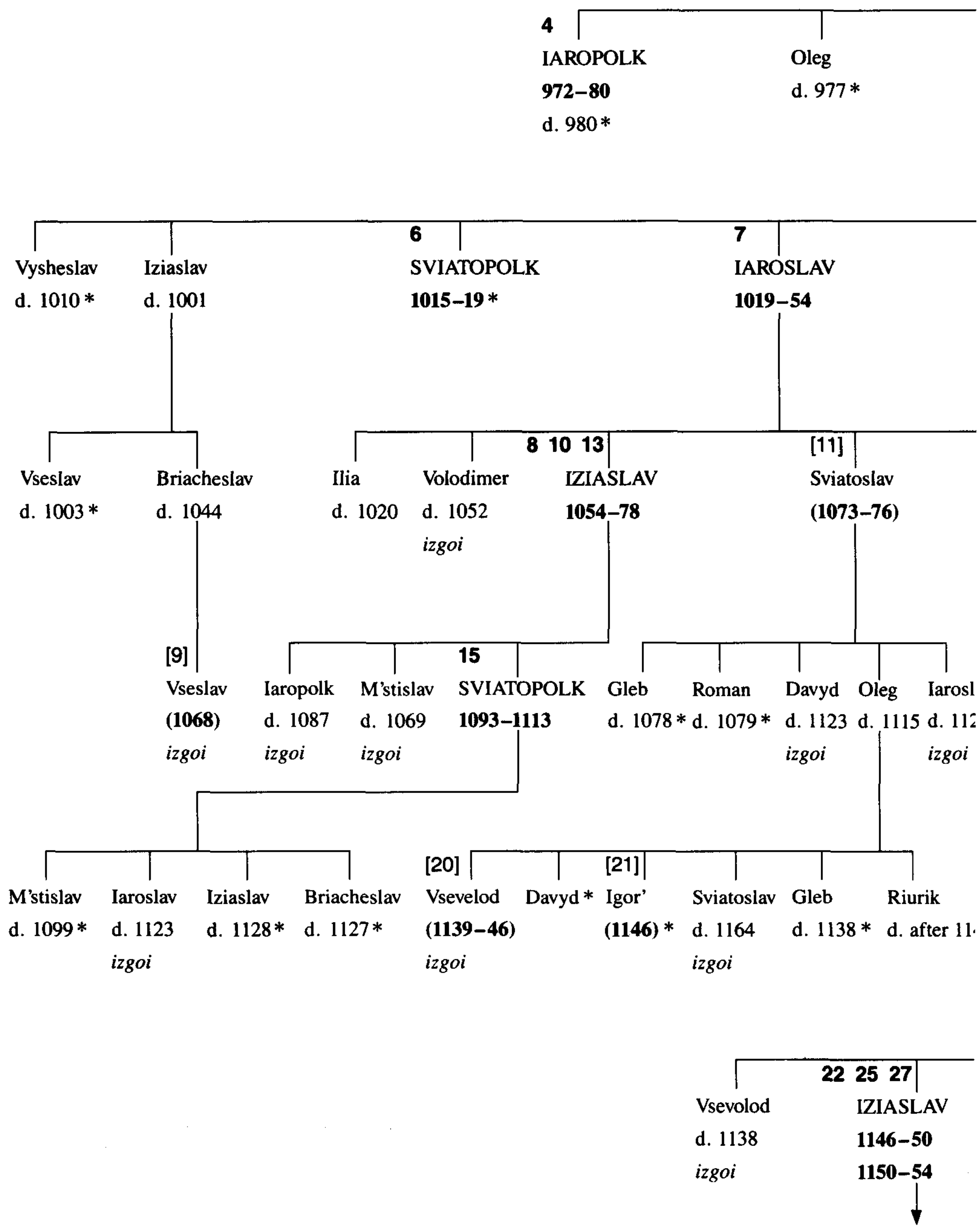
In conclusion a few themes suggest themselves. One is the origin of this system: Is Pritsak correct that the Rus' dynasty adopted collateral succession from Turkic sources, or might the practice have East Slavic antecedents instead of or in addition to steppe nomadic roots? Another is the relation between the rules of genealogical succession suggested here and the customs for devolution of Rus' territories analyzed by Omeljan Pritsak; perhaps correlation of princely landholdings with genealogical status might reveal further consistency in the political succession of the Rurikids.

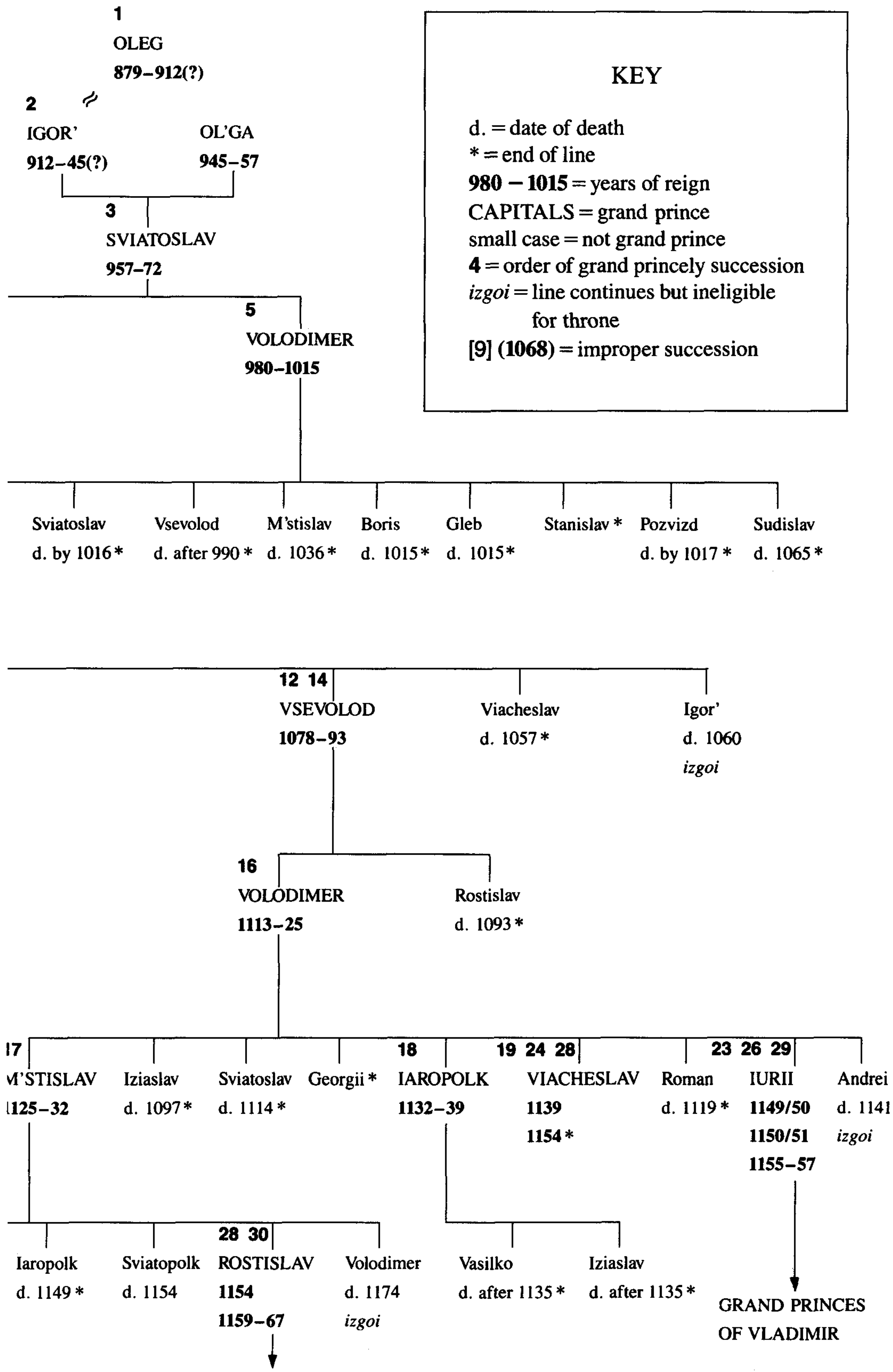
Finally, there is the issue of historical continuity: the Rurikids apparently shared this succession system with their military elite, and in Northeast Rus' it flourished among descendants of Kievan princes and their boyars. There collateral succession was the rule not only in sovereign succession, but also in acquisition of the powerful boyar rank at the Muscovite court from the fourteenth well into the sixteenth century.[16] Only the Muscovite grand princes diverged to practice succession by primogeniture, concentrating power efficiently in a narrow line of direct descent. They thus avoided some of the conflict of Kievan collateral succession but in turn suffered political crisis when the dynasty—too narrowly constricted by the subjugation of collateral lines—died out in 1598.[17] Neither collateral succession nor primogeniture proved without pitfall for rulers in the Rus' lands, but both provided their respective dynasties some measure of stability and unity for significant periods of time.

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[16] Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547* (Stanford, Calif., 1987), chap. 2.
[17] Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics*, pp. 155–59.

Rurikid Clan Succession




KEY
d. = date of death
* = end of line
980 – 1015 = years of reign
CAPITALS = grand prince
small case = not grand prince
4 = order of grand princely succession
izgoi = line continues but ineligible for throne
[9] (1068) = improper succession
1
OLEG
879–912(?)
2
IGOR'
912–45(?)
OL'GA
945–57
3
SVIATOSLAV
957–72
5
VOLODIMER
980–1015
Sviatoslav
d. by 1016*
Vsevolod
d. after 990*
M'stislav
d. 1036*
Boris
d. 1015*
Gleb
d. 1015*
Stanislav*
Pozvizd
d. by 1017*
Sudislav
d. 1065*
12 14
VSEVOLOD
1078–93
Viacheslav
d. 1057*
Igor'
d. 1060
izgoi
16
VOLODIMER
1113–25
Rostislav
d. 1093*
17
M'STISLAV
1125–32
Iziaslav
d. 1097*
Sviatoslav
d. 1114*
Georgii*
18
IAROPOLK
1132–39
19 24 28
VIACHESLAV
1139
1154*
Roman
d. 1119*
23 26 29
IURII
1149/50
1150/51
1155–57
Andrei
d. 1141
izgoi
Iaropolk
d. 1149*
Sviatopolk
d. 1154
28 30
ROSTISLAV
1154
1159–67
Volodimer
d. 1174
izgoi
Vasilko
d. after 1135*
Iziaslav
d. after 1135*
GRAND PRINCES
OF VLADIMIR

Widows and Sons: Heroism in Ukrainian Epic*

NATALIE KONONENKO

Dumy are the heroic epic of Ukraine. They tell of battles with the Turks and Tatars that occurred in the fourteenth to seventeenth century and the uprising against the Poles under Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi at the end of that period. The first recording of a *duma* was made sometime in the sixteenth century, and real efforts at collecting did not begin until the nineteenth century.[1] In the period when most of *duma* collecting was done—namely, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth—the epics were performed by blind mendicant minstrels called *kobzari* or *lirnyky*, depending on the instrument they played. The minstrels were professional performers, organized into guilds which had their own laws, territories, and language and which permitted entry only through apprenticeship and initiation.[2] Considering the professional stature of the performers and the complexity of both *duma* text and *duma* music, this was the folk version of high art, a somber genre, used not just for entertainment, but for spiritual impact. Folk performers themselves attest that they considered *dumy* special and serious.[3]

Being as monumental a genre as it is, Ukrainian heroic epic has many interesting features. Some of these are puzzling, as well. One feature that receives virtually no comment in *duma* scholarship is the rather peculiar version of heroism found in this epic tradition. Western epics present us with the idea that heroism has to do with struggle in battle—Beowulf fighting Grendel and later the same Beowulf succumbing to the fire-

* I would like to thank IREX (the International Research Exchanges Board) for its support of my research in Ukraine, September–December 1987.

1 See the discussion of *duma* collecting and scholarship in Kateryna Hrushevs'ka, *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1927), introduction, pp. xii–ccxx, especially xiii–xxi.

2 See, for example, the studies by M. Speranskii, *Iuzhno-Russkaia pesnia i sovremenye eia nositeli (po povodu bandurista T. Parkhomenko)* (Kiev, 1904); Fedir Lavrov, *Kobzari, Narys z istorii kobzarstva Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1980); Borys Kyrdan and A. Omel'chenko, *Narodni spivtsi-muzykanty na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1980).

3 Ostap Veresai, a nineteenth-century *kobzar* and the first performer to be studied extensively, is quoted as preferring *dumy* and other "serious, historical material" and being reluctant to perform "frivolous" songs and dance melodies in A. A. Rusov, "Ostap Veresai, odin is poslednikh kobzarei malorusskikh," *Zapiski Iugo-Zapadnogo otdela Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 1 (for 1873) (Kiev, 1874), pp. 309–338.

breathing dragon that vanquishes his old and war-weary body. French epic has Roland and Oliver battling the Saracens, making strategic mistakes, but fighting valiantly nonetheless. Germanic epic tells of Siegfried's battle with a dragon and later of Hagen fighting Etzel, the folk tradition's version of Attila the Hun. Ancient Greek, the tradition that forms the foundation of Western literary consciousness, also details numerous conflicts: the various individual confrontations at the battle of Troy, culminating with the struggle between Hector and Achilles, the battles with the monsters faced by Odysseus and his men on their return journey, and the carnage in Odysseus's own home when he slays his wife's suitors. All of these and other Western traditions describe the struggle of hero and foe in great detail, to the point of gory anatomical accuracy; the time and attention paid to the conflict make it appear central to heroic epic and heroism.[4]

Against this background, Ukrainian tradition is strangely devoid of battle descriptions. The *duma* about "Fedir, the Man Without Kin," for example, begins after the fighting has already taken place.[5] Fedir is lying mortally

[4] Just a few examples from Roland are:

laisse 146

Oliver feels that he is hurt to death;
He grasps his sword Hauteclaire the keen of edge,
Smites Marganice on his high golden helm,
Shearing away flowers and crystal gems,
Down to the teeth clean splits him through the head,
Shakes loose the blade and flings him down and dead.

laisse 155

Turpin of Rheims, finding himself o'erset,
With four sharp lance-heads stuck fast within his breast
Quickly leaps up, brave lord, and stands erect.
He looks on Roland and runs to him and says
Only one word: "I am not beaten yet!
True man failed never while life in him was left."

laisse 167

The County Roland sees the Archbishop lie;
He sees his bowels gush forth out of his side
And on his brow the brain laid bare to sight.

All examples are from the Penguin Classics edition, translated by Dorothy L. Sayers.

[5] The variants of "Fedir Bezridnyi" are printed in Kateryna Hrushevs'ka, *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy*, vol. 2 (Kharkiv and Kiev, 1931), pp. 113–23. A more easily accessible collection, containing three of these variants, is Borys P. Kyrdan (Boris P. Kirdan), *Ukrainskie narodnye dumy* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 81–88. In general, the most complete collection is Hrushevs'ka's and the most readily available is Kirdan's. Kirdan's collection is also a nice supplement to Hrushevs'ka's because it prints for the first time texts collected by V. Kharkiv, E. I. Krist, P. Tikhovs'kyi, and others, previously available as manuscripts in archives only. From this point on, text citations will be from Hrushevs'ka. The reader should know that at least several vari-

wounded. He calls his servant and, being without kin, passes his horse and his battle gear on to him. Since the youth is described as being short and slight (*malyi, nevelykii*), Fedir makes sure that the servant can properly assume his gear and, presumably, his place in battle. Having assured himself that the youth can do just that, Fedir has him ride out to the river, tells him how to greet the Cossacks correctly, and requests that the servant have the Cossacks arrange for proper burial. All of this is done and the *duma* concludes with a panegyric to the glory of Fedir.

At least from a Western perspective, this is somewhat strange. True, Fedir dies bravely enough, hanging on to make sure that someone takes his place and that his body is properly interred, but we are not told of a single deed that might qualify Fedir as a hero—the entire epic is his death scene. Western traditions, by contrast, teach that glory must be earned through heroic deeds. The story of Beowulf, for example, says so quite explicitly.[6]

The *duma* about the "Death of a Cossack in the Kodyma Valley" is similar in plot to the *duma* about Fedir: a Cossack laments that the valley has not been good to him.[7] The first time he ventured out into it, he says, he lost his horse; the second time—he lost his dear companion; the third time—he lost his own precious life, for he is now dying. This *duma*, too, ends with words celebrating the main protagonist's glory and adds a ceremonial burial, befitting a hero, even though the entire narrative tells of loss and death, and no heroic deeds are recounted. Even a description of heroic death, present in "Fedir, the Man Without Kin," is absent here, for little is said about the hero's death that might make it seem particularly courageous. The hero does rather futilely muster the last of his strength to pull out his rifle and shoot at the eagles circling overhead, waiting to feast on his body, but this is more an act of frustration than of heroism.

In the *duma* about three brothers near the river Samarka, the eldest brother calls out to his middle sibling, asking that he fetch some water to sooth his mortal wounds.[8] The middle brother answers that he cannot help

ants of those cited from Hrushevs'ka will also be available in Kirdan. Kirdan will be cited here for the variants that he publishes for the first time.

6 See Robert P. Creed, "Beowulf on the Brink," *Comparative Research on Oral Traditions: A Memorial for Milman Parry*, ed. John Miles Foley (Columbus, Ohio, 1987), pp. 139–60. Creed uses computer analysis to prove that ideas such as *doom*, *death*, and *deed* belong together and that deeds must precede death to have made life heroic and worthy.

7 "Smert' kozaka na dolyni Kodymi," in Hrushevs'ka, 1: 145–47; only one variant, published by Kostomarov, 1872.

8 "Try braty Samars'ki" is printed in seven variants in Hrushevs'ka, 1: 138–44. Kirdan reprints four of these and adds archival material from IMFE, the Academy of Sciences Folklore, Folk Art, and Ethnomusicology Institute in Kiev: two recordings, one made in Kharkiv in 1930, and one from Academician Iavornyts'kyi's collection, recorded in 1912.

because he, too, lies near death, his flesh cut to white bone by sabre wounds and blood gushing from deep bullet wounds. The two brothers then call out to the youngest, who, of course, is in the same state as his siblings. Some versions of this narrative add interesting information: the youngest brother points out to his siblings that they are all dying, not from the wounds of the Turk's and the Janissary's bullet or the cuts of the Turk's and the Janissary's sword, but from parental prayers.[9] When the three of them left home, he says, they did not ask for their parent's permission and blessing. Thus their death is punishment for their sins. Practically all versions of this *duma*, even those with the addition saying that the three brothers sinned, end with the singing of their glory. Here there is not only lack of heroic deed but actual misdeed, and yet the brothers are celebrated.

The story of the escape of three brothers from Azov takes this a step further. In this *duma*, three brothers escape from Turkish captivity in the city of Azov.[10] The elder two are on horseback and the youngest is on foot. As they flee, the youngest has trouble keeping up with his brothers. Through super-human effort, he forces his bloody feet to run faster and catches up to his mounted siblings. He begs them to cast aside some of their rich booty and carry him on their horses instead. In their pride, they refuse and ride ahead. The youngest brother catches up to them again, begging them to chop off his head and not leave him either to be recaptured or to die in the steppe and become fodder for wild beasts. The older brothers refuse again. As they ride on, the middle brother takes pity and leaves broken branches and, when there are no more trees and branches to break, scraps of his clothing, to at least help the youngest find his way back to Christian soil.

Nine days pass from the time of the escape. Following the signs left by the middle brother, the youngest brother has gotten as far as the Savur burial mound. Here he is overcome by lack of water and lack of food, and even the wind knocks him off his feet. He sits down to rest on the mound, delivers a long and heart-rending speech addressed to the eagles and wolves that gather to devour his body, and dies. Either one or both of the two older brothers sense that the youngest has passed away. The middle brother begins to grieve and to worry about what the two should tell their parents concerning the youngest when they arrive home. The oldest remains hard-

9 In Hrushevs'ka, the variants where the youngest brother talks about parental prayers are 3–6, pp. 141–44. In Kirdan, the new material with the same content is variant 5.

10 "Utecha tr'okh brativ z Azova" appears on pp. 88–187 in Hrushevs'ka, vol. 1; total of 24 variants. It appears on pp. 150–223 in Kirdan; 18 variants. Variants 4–7, 11, 12, 14–16, and 18 in Kirdan are published for the first time and previously available only in the archives of the IMFE.

hearted, tells the middle brother to lie, to say that the youngest remained behind in captivity by choice, and comforts him with the thought that their inheritance will be divided two ways instead of three. The behavior of the two older brothers does not go unpunished. In most versions, they are ambushed and killed by the Turks at the River Samarka immediately after the above conversation takes place.[11] In some versions, they do arrive home and are punished either by their parents or by their own feelings of guilt.[12] What is important for the discussion here is that the *duma* nevertheless concludes by singing the glory of all three brothers. The typical refrain is as follows:

> The three brothers died.
> The youngest lay down his head on the Savur mound.
> The elder two lay down theirs by the river Samarka,
> But their fame will not die and not perish,
> From now and forever and till the end of time.[13]

[11] The variants of Hrushevs'ka in which the two older brothers are killed near the river Samarka are 2, 6, 10, 18, 22, 23. The new variants in Kirdan in which the two older brothers are killed are 6, 14, 15, 17, and 18. In variant 18 they are killed near the river Volhanka and their demise is not a scene in the actual song, but part of the closing tirade. Variant 7 of Kirdan has the older two brothers recaptured by the Turks, but not killed. Variant 16 has them recaptured and placed into a Turkish galley which the sea, angry at their treatment of their younger brother, then sinks.

[12] In Hrushevs'ka, the variants in which the brothers do return home are 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17, and 19. The new material in Kirdan with the same ending is variants 5, 11, and 12. In most of the earlier versions, the middle brother, who discovers he cannot lie to his parents and reveals the awful truth about what the elder two had done to the youngest, is forgiven by the parents, who take out their wrath on the eldest brother. In more recent versions, the parents curse both of the older brothers. In a few variants, even when parental anger does not cause the downfall of the sinful brother or brothers, nature senses their wrong-doing and plagues them with natural disaster.

Variants that are not listed either here or in fn. 11 above usually end earlier in the plot, such as with the death of the youngest brother or the dialogue between the older two. In these, the fate of the two older brothers is simply not given.

[13] Several examples of the praise closing are the following:

> Полегла двох братів голова вище річки Самарки,
> Третя у Осаур-могили.
> А слава не вмре, не поляже
> Однині до віка!
> А вам на многая літа!
>
> recorded by Kulish 1854, Kirdan variant 3

> Оже хотя трьох братів озовських,
> Найменшого брата, пішого-піхотинця,
> На Савор-могилі голова полягла,
> Та слава їх козацька молодецька не помре, не поляже
> Междо панами,
> Междо козаками,

This is difficult for a Westerner to comprehend. The youngest brother fits Western ideas of heroism well. After all, not just his death, but also his actions are described and these are truly heroic, showing great physical courage and endurance and great mental strength. The more sentimental versions of this *duma* attribute great moral power to him also, showing him as grateful for the meager efforts of the middle brother and worried about the safety of his siblings when he finds the scraps of clothing. In any case, singing his glory seems to us logical. Singing the glory of the other two brothers does not. It is not that courage or other moral qualities are understood differently. The *duma* explicitly presents the eldest brother as a despicable human being and the middle brother as weak. It is that this tradition will sing the praises of even the despicable and the weak as long as they die and their death is somehow related to conflict with the enemy.

Understanding the Ukrainian epic's perspective on the heroic is important not only for making this genre accessible to a Western audience: it is also necessary as a balance to previous *duma* scholarship. Most scholars writing on *dumy*, even though the majority of them were Ukrainians, were trained in Western approaches. This led them to assume the presence of the features of Western epic in Ukrainian *dumy*. Thus they avoided discussions of heroism and stressed military subject matter, that small part of *duma* content where struggles between hero and foe take place and where heroism would have been displayed in Western epic. Armed conflict is not only absent in most narratives such as those discussed above: it is, in my

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Междо всіма православними християнами
Однині й до віка і до конця віка!
recorded by Martynovych in 1876 from
Kravchenko-Kriukovs'kyi, Kirdan variant 10

Полягли двох козаків голови вище річки Самарки,
А третього найменшого,
Пішого-піхотинця, на Савур-могилі.
А сяя слава не вмре, не поляже однині й до віка,
А вам, братця, всім слухаючим головам на многая літа!
recorded from the *lirnyk* Merezhko in 1916 and kept in the
Iavornyts'kyi collection, Kirdan variant 14

Да вмер козак-летяга на Савур-могилі,
А два братіки його рідні
Коло річки Волганки,
Коло кринички Салтанки.
Усі три вони померли,
А слава їх не вмерла
І повсюду православна,
І сотвори на вічну пам'ять.
recorded by Polotai from the *lirnyk* Hreben' in 1946,
Kirdan variant 18

opinion, peripheral to the whole tradition. Furthermore, previous scholars' emphasis on military subject matter presents numerous problems, such as accounting for the existence of the very popular cycle of songs termed "*dumy* of everyday life."

Most heroic epic traditions deal with times of great conflict, and *dumy* do, too, but in addition to the cycles connected to the struggles against the Turks and Tatars and the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising mentioned at the beginning, Ukrainian tradition has a group of narratives which picture life in the village, away from the field of battle, and which describe problems that cannot be linked to a specific military event or even a specific time period. I have connected this cycle to war, arguing that the absence of a family member, a frequent starting point of a song, must have resulted from his death in battle or at least his departure for war. Others do not see even this much of a connection between these songs and armed conflict.[14] If a group of narratives related only marginally to war is part of a tradition's heroic epic genre, there must be some association between home life and battle which leads to its inclusion.

I suggest that war and death in battle hold a special symbolic meaning in Ukrainian culture. Furthermore, this meaning is valid for the entire culture—war is an important symbol to civilians as well as to soldiers and, I believe, retains the meaning found in *dumy* to this day. The meaning of something as central as war must derive from a number of sources. One source particularly important to *dumy* is the function of war as symbol in a relationship fundamental to the whole culture: namely, the relationship between mothers and sons. While I would hardly claim that this is the key to understanding the entire Ukrainian epic tradition, nevertheless, mother-son relations and the symbolism of war in these relations clarify a number of the phenomena associated with *dumy*.

The relationship of a son to his mother is central in the *dumy* about everyday life. The best known and most popular *duma* of this group—in fact, one of the most popular of all *dumy*—is the one about a widow and her three sons.[15]

In this story, a woman left with three young children works her fingers to the bone to take care of them and raise them properly. She does not let them hire themselves out to earn money, but does all of the work herself.

[14] I argued this connection when I delivered the Hoshulak lecture at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, 21 October 1988. Professor Andrij Hornjatkevych of the University of Alberta responded that, in his opinion, this *duma* cycle had no connection to war whatsoever.

[15] The variants of "Udova" are on pp. 233–76 of Hrushevs'ka, vol. 2; total of 42 variants. In Kirdan, this *duma* appears on pp. 346–84; 14 variants. Variants 8–10, 13, and 14 of Kirdan are from archival souces and do not appear in Hrushevs'ka.

Some versions say explicitly and others imply that the reason she does this is because she is counting on her sons to take care of her in her old age.[16] The household prospers, and the boys grow to manhood, marry and have children, and begin to entertain guests. At this point they notice their rather sickly and shabbily dressed mother and become ashamed of her. Not only do they not take care of her as she had hoped; they actually ask her to leave. The reason given depends on how maudlin the version is. Sometimes the brothers tell their mother to leave so as not to frighten their children and upset their guests; sometimes they try to create at least the appearance of caring for her by saying that they do not want the children and guests to tease or embarrass her.[17] As she walks from the house, some of the more melodramatic versions actually have one or more of the brothers laugh at her, saying that she stumbles because she is drunk, rather than because she is blinded by her tears.[18] The widow is almost immediately taken in by a neighbor who cares for her properly. The household of the neighbor flourishes while the household of the errant sons is hit with natural disaster, marital discord, and other misfortune. After a short while, the brothers realize that the reason for their suffering is what they have done to their mother. They repent and set out to beg her to return home. The ending differs from version to version. In some, the mother takes pity on her sons and does go back to live with them; in others, she stays with the neighbor who behaved as a true son towards her.[19]

16 The variants in Hrushevs'ka explicitly saying that the widow hopes for care in her old age are 2–5, 11, 12, 17, 20, 26, 29, 32–34, 36, 37, 40 and 42. Of the new material in Kirdan, the same content appears in variants 8, 9, and 13. In some variants, the widow hopes for praise and honor in return for the care she bestows on her sons (8, 17, 18, 27, 28, 35 in Hrushevs'ka).

17 Variants where the mother is kicked out so as not to frighten the wives, the children, or the guests, or so as not to embarrass the sons in front of their guests, are Hrushevs'ka 1, 8, 10, 13, 18, 24–28, 32, 35, and 41; in Kirdan they are the new variants 10 and 14. Variants where the sons claim they want to learn to take care of the household on their own, without their mother's help, are Hrushevs'ka 3, 6, 7, and 15.

18 The variants where one or more of the sons accuse their mother of stumbling from drunkenness are 6, 7, 10, 13, 19, 21–24, 25–27, 31, 32, and 41 of Hrushevs'ka; no new material in Kirdan.

19 The variants where the widow does return to her sons are 1, 3, 8, 13, 15, 23, 24, 27, and 32 in Hrushevs'ka; in Kirdan, new variant 14. The variants where the widow does not return are Hrushevs'ka 10, 21, 31, and 41 and Kirdan variant 10.

A great number of *dumy* end with a speech on prayers and on angering one's mother or parents or on the necessity of honoring one's mother or parents: Hrushevs'ka variants 2, 4, 5, 10–12, 14, 17, 18, 20–22, 25–29, 31, and 42; Kirdan variants 8, 9, and 13. Unless the variant in this group also appears in one of the two groups above, the prayer ending is ambiguous. In quite a few, the mother does have pity on her sons, or at least on their children, and does pray to God to forgive them. Sometimes she returns after uttering such a prayer; sometimes she does not. In most cases the prayer is the end, and whether the widow returns, and even whether she forgives her sons, is left unsaid.

The *duma* of the widow and her three sons may not immediately tell us about the connection between family life and war, but it does encapsulate the problems of Ukrainian mother-son relations: women are dependent primarily on their sons. They nurture their sons in childhood and expect nurture in return in their old age. They invest perhaps too much in their male offspring and expect too much back at a time when the sons want to get on with their own families, their own lives. Yet the woman in "The Widow and Her Three Sons" is treated sympathetically and, if anything, blame is assigned to the men who did not perform their filial duty towards their mother. In acknowledging the mother's rights to her sons over those of their friends, spouses, and even their own children, the tradition sees mother and son as a kind of primal couple, a relationship that dominates all other family ties.

The way *dumy* picture other family relationships underscores the importance of the mother-son bond. Fathers are essentially absent from Ukrainian epic—not only the everyday life songs but *dumy* from all cycles. The tradition has several widows in addition to the one just discussed and it has married mothers, but no fathers—at least, no fathers whose relationship to their sons is central to the plot. In fact, fathers are seldom even mentioned except as part of the parental unit—father and mother. There is a song called "Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and His Son," but this deals primarily with relationships between Khmel'nyts'kyi and his followers.[20] There is one active father in the entire tradition. He appears in the everyday life group and he is an evil stepfather who is an interloper between mother and son, destroying their relationship to the detriment of all.[21]

The *duma* about the stepfather starts with the son being driven out of the house by this man. The hero's mother agrees to his departure, partly to shield him from the abuse of her new husband, and partly because she has violated her bond with her son by remarrying. The three sisters bid farewell and the youngest asks the departing hero when he will return. His answer is some elaboration of the following:

> Sister, take yellow sand and sow it on the white rock,
> Water it every day.

20 The variants of "Khmel'nyts'kyi and His Son," here called "The Death of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi" (Smert' Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho), are on pp. 202–208 in Hrushevs'ka, vol. 2. There are two variants, one dated 1814 and one dated 1853. The same two variants are in Kirdan.

21 The variants of the *duma* about the stepfather, here called "Proshchannia kozaka z rodynoiu" (Farewell of a Cossack to His Kin), are on pp. 216–26 in Hrushevs'ka, vol. 2; 11 variants. There are no additional variants in Kirdan, though there is some discussion of the correct reading of lines based on his archival research.

When the yellow sands sprout green periwinkle,
When the green periwinkle blooms with lavender flowers,
Then I will return.[22]

This is the end in most versions, and one assumes that the sisters are left to suffer in their longing for their brother. Some scholars either add on a short *duma* which has been recorded separately, or at least connect it to the stepfather song. Here, the banished hero establishes a life in another land. He longs for his mother, however, and announces to his wife that he will travel home to visit her.[23] He arrives to find the mother on her deathbed. The implication of this song is that the mother, too, suffered from the absence of the hero. Even without the *duma* of the son's return to his mother, the stepfather narrative underscores mother and son ties, presenting the stepfather as the son's virtual rival for his mother's affection.

As for the other family members, *dumy* picture sisters, female blood kin, as an extension of the mother. Sisters take the place of the errant mother above, lamenting the hero's departure and expressing impatience for his

22 Several examples of the metaphor for the time when the hero will return go as follows:

Возьми ти, сестро, жовтого піску,
Да посій ти, сестро, на білому камні,
Коли буде жовтий пісок виростати,
Зеленим барвінком камень устилати,
В той час буду, сестро, до вас прибувати!
recorded by Tsertelev in 1814, Kirdan variant 2

Ой не виглядай мене, сестро,
Ні з буйного вою, ані з чистого поля,
Ані з славного люду Запорожжя;
А возьми, сестро, жовтого піску
Та посій на білому камені,
Та вставай раненько,
Та поливай пісок частенько
Ранніми і вечірніми зорями
Та все своїми дрібними сльозами!
То як будуть, сестро, о Петру ріки замерзати,
А об різдві калина у лузі білим цвітом процвітати,
А об Василію ягоди зроджати,
Жовтий пісок на білому камені сходжати
Та синім цвітом процвітати,
Хрещатим барвінком камінь устилати,—
То тоді я буду до вас, сестро, в гості прибувати!
recorded by Chubyns'kyi and Rusov from Ostap Veresai
in 1873, Kirdan variant 5a

This metaphor is also frequently found in the *duma* "Sister and Brother." Here also it is the brother's response to the sister's question about when he will come to see her.

23 The *duma* about the son returning home to find his mother on her deathbed is called "Povorot syna z chuzhyny." It exists in one variant in Hrushevs'ka, 2: 228–29. The same text is in Kirdan.

return. In other songs they expect the brother to protect and nurture them, physically and emotionally, much as the widow sought succor from her sons. In the *duma* titled "Brother and Sister," a woman speaks, complaining of her misfortune, and turning to her brother for help.[24] Even though the brother fails to respond, the sister's request is presented sympathetically, as if turning to the brother is precisely the right thing to do.

Non-blood female kin—namely, wives—do not seem to be allowed the same dependence on the male heroes of *dumy*. As in the song about the stepfather, so in a song about a Cossack and his wife, marital relationships are downplayed. In "A Cossack's Life," the hero rides off to war in spite of his wife's protests, leaving her the rather impossible task of tending household and farmstead all by herself.[25] She cannot manage, and the *duma* makes the generalized comment that this must necessarily happen, for:

> You can always tell a Cossack's house,
> Even among ten houses,
> It has no thatch,
> And the shoring is missing,
> The yard is dirty and bare,
> The wood pile is totally empty.
> And in the house sit the Cossack's wife—numb.
> And you can always tell a Cossack's wife;
> She goes barefoot, even in winter,
> She carries water in a pot,
> And she ladles it out to her children.[26]

Some versions imply that the wife, in her frustration, curses her husband or

[24] The variants of "Sestra ta brat" are on pp. 276–90 of Hrushevs'ka, vol. 2, with an additional text on p. 298; total of 20 variants. Kirdan had 12 variants; 5, 7, 8, and 10–12 are fresh publications of archival material.

[25] The variants of "Kozats'ke zhyttia" are on pp. 210–16 of Hrushevs'ka, vol. 2; total of 4 variants. Three of these are in Kirdan.

[26]

> Знати, знати козацьку хату,
> Скрізь десяту:
> Вона соломою не покрита,
> Приспою не осипана,
> Коло двора нечиста-ма й кола,
> На дровітні дров ні поліна.
> Сидить в ній козацька жінка—околіла.
> Знати, знати козацьку жінку,
> Що всю зиму боса ходить,
> Горшком воду носить,
> Полоником діти напуває!
>
> recorded by Nehovs'kyi from Ryhorenko in 1855,
> Kirdan variant 2

turns to drink.[27] This is, perhaps, partially to justify what follows: when the hero returns, he discovers the sad state of his household and beats his wife. She not only takes the beating without protest, but lies to her neighbors and shields her husband from blame when they enquire about the bruises on her face. It is as if she expects nothing from her husband except pain, and any emotional and physical support will have to come in the future from her sons.

The picture that the everyday life cycle of *dumy* provides is of a family where the primary relationship is between a man and his mother. Sisters are an extension of the mother: they are also blood kin. They will also care for a man and should be cared for in turn. Relationships with fathers are nonexistent, as if the mother were a widow, or are seen as part of the relationship with the mother in those cases where the father is included in the mother-father parental unit. Relations with the father can be antagonistic if transferred to a psychologically safe stepfather. Wives are peripheral. They are supposed to understand, or at least accept, and one need not reckon with their needs the way one does with those of a mother or a sister.[28]

This is actually a fairly accurate picture of the reality of Ukrainian family relations. The nature of rural life in Ukraine of the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century was such that survival—meaning growing enough food for the whole family—demanded that men be out in the fields all day, interacting little with wives and children. Women stayed home tending to house, garden, and children. They became closely bound to the children, but much more to sons than to daughters. Daughters, after all, would marry and become part of their husbands' households, having little chance to return to their mothers. Sons, on the other hand, remained with the mother until she died. The necessities of life in the folk milieu in

[27] The variants where the wife of the Cossack drinks or curses him are 1, 3, and 4 of Hrushevs'ka.

[28] The picture of Ukrainian family relations provided by folklore as a whole is more ambiguous and more complex than that in the *dumy* alone. Even if one looks at just the songs about Cossack life that have tended to be grouped and published with the *dumy*, as in V. Antonovych and M. Drahomanov, *Istoricheskie pesni malorusskogo naroda s obiasneniami*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1894) and vol. 2 (*Vypusk pesnei o bor'be s poliakami pri Bohdane Khmel'nitskom*) (Kiev, 1875), one sees positive and negative relations with blood kin and with spouses. There are songs about a father selling his daughter to the Turks and songs about a brother doing the same to his sister. There are songs about parents and siblings refusing to gather the ransom needed to buy a Cossack's freedom and his beloved making the sacrifices necessary to get him back. There are also songs about brothers fighting over a woman, a man killing his wife, a sister trying to trick her brother into a journey that will kill him. The picture in *dumy* is more one-sided. The focus is on relations with blood kin, especially the relationship of a man to his mother, and relationships with spouses are only a very minor topic.

which *dumy* were performed created a situation that stressed the mother-son bond over all other family ties.[29] Concentration of emotion in one relationship can strain that relationship tremendously, causing women to expect more from their sons than could possibly be delivered and causing men both to idealize their mothers' self-sacrificing love and to feel overburdened by the need to repay it.[30] Emotion being the stuff of art, whether high art or folk, this emotional problem is precisely the subject matter of *dumy*.

If the mother-son relationship is emotionally important and problematic, then its appearance in folk art is fully understandable. And, indeed, mother-son relations are the subject matter of lyric songs and many other folk genres.[31] It still seems a bit peculiar that, with all these other means of expressing the problems of mothers and sons, a folk genre depicting a society's struggle against its enemies should also be used to express personal matters. The answer, I believe, is that by the time *dumy* were recorded, their milieu was totally civilian, both their performers and their

[29] There is no one description of Ukrainian family life, but there is plentiful ethnographic data from which a picture can be extracted. See, for example: P. P. Chubyns'kyi (Chubynskii), *Narodnyi dnevnik, Trudy Ètnograficheskо-statisticheskoi èkspeditsii v Zapadno-russkii krai*, Iugozapadnyi otdel, materialy i issledovaniia, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1872). This gives the agrarian yearly cycle, complete with appropriate songs. P. P. Chubyns'kyi, *Rodiny, krestiny, svad'ba, pokhorony*, vol. 4 of the same series (1877). This gives the rural life cycle, plus songs. Volodymyr Hnatiuk, *Znadoby do Halyts'ko-rus'koi demonologii*, vols. 1 and 2 (pts. 1 and 2). Vol. 1 is vol. 15 of *Etnografichnyi zbirnyk*, Etnografichna komisiia Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka (Lviv, 1904); vol. 2, pt. 1 is vol. 33 of the same series (1912); vol. 2, pt. 2 is vol. 34 (also 1912), which gives various folk beliefs in the supernatural. These are very useful for beliefs associated with the house, the garden, the fields, and the forest, and thus provide a "belief map" of the physical setting of Ukrainian rural life. There are also straight ethnographies from the *Trudy Instituta ètnografii* that give house types, farming equipment, farm building types, usually as part of a large work dealing with the peoples of the European part of the Soviet Union, meaning Russia, Belorussia, and Ukraine. A recent study of rural life which includes statistics on Ukraine is Susan Bridger, *Women in the Soviet Countryside: Women's Roles in Rural Development in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, 1987).

[30] Andrei Simic, "Machismo and Cryptomatriarchy: Power, Affect, and Authority in the Contemporary Yugoslav Family," *Ethos* 11, no. 1/2 (1983), while written about Yugoslavia, could easily apply to the situation in Ukraine. Simic stresses that the bond between parents, especially mothers, and children, is much stronger and more important to the culture than bonds between spouses. He also discusses the psychological and emotional problems inherent in such a situation.

[31] In lyric songs and historical songs, even in the ones associated with *dumy*, such as in the Antonovych and Drahomanov collection already cited, mother-son relations do not seem to predominate over all others. They are important, but relationships to siblings and spouses are also treated extensively. About the only family bond missing here is, again, that of a son to his father. As for other genres, family relationships of all sorts are important in proverbs and riddles. Mother-son relations specifically may be seen in material culture, notably embroideries, and it is arguable that the Ukrainian and other East Slavic forms of male swearing and cursing with reference to one's mother may have something to do with mother-son ties.

audiences having little to do with combat, and their subject matter was something meaningful to this civilian population. Family relations had become the subject matter for all *dumy*, not just those about everyday life. Armed conflict remained in *dumy* because it had acquired a meaning for civilians.

To demonstrate the importance of civilian subject matter to Ukrainian epic, we must examine songs about combat. Family bonds in *dumy* other than those in the everyday life cycle have not received much comment because, as mentioned earlier, scholars tended to search for the armed conflict they had grown to expect from Western epic. Family matters, however, are the central topic of most *dumy*, with the exception of the Khmel'nyts'kyi cycle. Ukrainian epic poems may have the field of battle as their setting, but the real struggle occurs at home, in village and family.

The *duma* about Ivas' Konovchenko, even though it actually describes some battle scenes, really deals with the struggle between a man and his mother.[32] Ivas' is again a widow's son. He is plowing one day when he hears a call to join the Cossacks and he immediately decides to volunteer. His mother tries to talk him out of this decision. After all, he is her only surviving male relative and she, probably rightly, fears that there will be no one to take care of her should he fall in battle. There is a long argument in which Ivas' claims that fighting is the only path to honor and glory and his mother says that being a good farmer and raising food and feeding the Cossacks would be just as honorable, not to mention more productive. Neither hero nor mother will concede, and the widow hides her husband's armor so that her son cannot take it and join the Cossacks. She then goes off to church. The son finds the armor anyway and sets off in pursuit of the battalion. The mother returns from church to find the door of the storage room broken and the armor and her son gone. In her anger, she curses her son, an action that she immediately regrets. As a sign of her remorse, she even sells some of the farm animals and buys her son the horse he had so wanted and that she had earlier refused to purchase.

It is, however, too late. The scene now shifts to Ivas' with the Cossack horde. Ivas' has to struggle with a father substitute of sorts, the commander of the regiment who, at first, refuses to let him ride out against the enemy because of his youth and inexperience. Ivas' finally gets his way and fights the Tatar enemy, battling them three hundred, then six hundred, then nine hundred at a time. After each foray, he returns to camp and celebrates by drinking. He is finally drunk enough to neglect to pray for his mother's

[32] The variants of Ivas' (or Ivan) Konovchenko appear on pp. 12–106 of Hrushevs'ka, vol. 2; total of 42. Kirdan publishes 6 variants; the last is a new printing from archival sources.

blessing. Immediately, the mother's curse takes effect. Ivas' is encircled by the enemy, driven away from the camp, and killed. The horse the mother had bought returns riderless and the Cossacks realize what has happened. They find the dying Ivas', who instructs them to tell his mother that he has married a Tatar princess, that their match-maker was the sharp sword, their best man—the spear, their bed—the damp earth, their pillow—the hard rock, and their coverlet—the green grass. The *duma* concludes with the mother hearing the metaphor of the marriage and deciphering its meaning.[33] Concluding the narrative with a scene centered on the mother underscores that, while some of the action, including the death of the hero, takes place on the battlefield, the real epic struggle occurs between Ivas' and his mother; the legitimate desires and demands of both are valid and the problems of the mother-son relationship cannot be resolved, so both hero and mother must suffer. Widow and son stories are so central to the tradition that the *duma* about Ivas' Konovchenko is essentially duplicated in "Ivan Sirko's Widow and Her Sons."[34] This song is close in plot to "Ivas' Konovchenko," except that the death of an older brother is understood to precede that of the younger son and hero.

Just as a widow *duma*, that about the widow and her three sons, provided a key to the everday life cycle, so the story of Ivas' and his widowed mother can help in understanding *dumy* where the action takes place on the field of battle. Ivas' dies at the hands of his Turkic enemy, but he does not die because of the enemy—he dies because of his mother and her curse. In all *dumy*, if a cause for a hero's demise is given, that cause is either a mother's curse or the prayers of both parents. In Western traditions, the cause of a hero's death is related to war. Because of his pride, Roland makes a strategic error and refuses to summon battle reinforcements until it is too late. Beowulf is overcome by his own old age and his enemy's deceit. Most Ukrainian epics are not long enough for the hero to make strategic errors or for the enemy to deceive the hero. In fact, the *duma* about Ivas' Konovchenko has the fullest discussion of the fighting leading to the hero's death. Many songs have no description of battle whatsoever and begin as "Fedir, the Man Without Kin," "The Death of a Cossack in the Kodyma Valley," and "The Three Brothers by the River Samarka": that is,

33 The striking metaphor is not unique to this *duma* or even to the *duma* tradition. It appears in lyric and historical songs about the death of Cossacks, such as those published by Antonovych and Drahomanov in the collection already cited; see "Umeraiushchii kozak i kon'," vol. 1, pp. 270–71. This song is analyzed by Ivan Franko, "Smert' kozaka v stepu," *Zibrannia tvoriv u p"iatydesiaty tomakh*, vol. 42 (Kiev, 1984), pp. 138–41.

34 "Sirchykha i sirchenky" exists in only one variant: pp. 123–25 of Hrushevs'ka, vol. 2. The same text is in Kirdan.

after the fighting has taken place, with the hero or heroes lying fatally wounded. Possibly the superior strength or numbers of the enemy should be understood, but no cause of the hero's death, other than a mother's curse or parental prayers, is actually stated.

The enemy seems to matter little because the Cossack is frequently in mortal danger, not from a human foe, but from the forces of nature. In the story of Oleksii Popovych, the hero and his companions encounter no one.[35] They are sailing when the sea suddenly becomes stormy and an evil swell arises, threatening to sink their ship. The leader of the men calls on all to pray and to confess their sins. All are silent until Oleksii steps forward and confesses that, when he left home, he did not ask for the blessings of his mother and father; he insulted his elder sister and elder brother; he disregarded the church and failed to take off his hat and cross himself as he went by; he even trampled little children with his horse as he rode through the village. Everyone is shocked because Oleksii is, according to his patronymic, a priest's son and the reader of scripture to the Cossacks. Oleksii states that he is indeed guilty and that the storm threatening the ship is caused by his parents' prayers. He suggests that he be thrown overboard and sacrificed because it is better that he perish than be the cause for the destruction of an entire ship. In some versions, Oleksii's confession is enough. The same parental prayers that stirred up the storm quiet the sea and save the men.[36] In other versions, the commander proposes that Oleksii's little finger be cut off and his blood spilled on the stormy waters. This has the desired effect and the waves lift the Cossack ship into safe harbor.[37]

In a very similar *duma* called "Storm at Sea," the vessel has already begun to sink when two brothers confess to each other transgressions similar to those of Oleksii Popovych.[38] They also attribute their misfortune to parental prayers that have doomed them for their misdeeds. The sea swell accepts their confession and lifts them up onto the shore, where the two lament a stranger who had no parents to whom to confess and who thus perished in the waves. Both *dumy* routinely end with a long discourse on

35 "Oleksii Popovych" is on pp. 54–77 of Hrushevs'ka, vol. 1; 18 variants. Kirdan has 8 variants: 3, 4, 7, and 8 are the first printings of archival materials.

36 The variants of "Oleksii Popovych" where his confession is enough to calm the storm are 2–5, 8, 9, and 11–14 in Hrushevs'ka, and 3, 4, 7, and 8 of the new material in Kirdan.

37 The variants where Oleksii's finger is cut off are 1, 6, and 7 of Hrushevs'ka; none of these variants are in the new material that appears in Kirdan.

38 "Buria na mori" appears on pp. 78–85 of Hrushevs'ka, vol. 1; total of 5 variants. Kirdan has three variants; no. 2 is from archival sources.

parental prayers which states that, as parental prayers can doom one to a grisly death, so:

> He who honors his father and his mother
> Has his parents' prayers to protect him.
> The prayers of one's parents can rescue one,
> Even from the bottom of the sea;
> They can insure success in business and in battle,
> And protect one one's whole life.[39]

In "Oleksii Popovych" the above is presented as the moral lesson the hero reads to the men after their experience at sea. In the other *duma*, the words are spoken by the narrator.

"Ivas' Konovchenko, the Widow's Son" attributes the hero's failure in battle to a struggle that had occurred back home between the hero and his mother. "Oleksii Popovych" and "Storm at Sea" attribute natural disasters to parental wrath that resulted, again, from the hero's or heroes' behavior in the village, far from the battlefield. It is almost as if *dumy* occur in the arena of war, but their real action, presented in flashbacks, takes place in the hero's home. Ascribing virtually anything that occurs to Cossacks to what they had done before, back in the village, seems to be such an essential

[39] The quote on parental prayers is such a frequently used group of lines that I will give only one example:

> Слухайте, козаки, панове-молодьці,
> Якъ се Святе Письмо просвіщае,
> На все моленіе указуе:
> Которий чоловікъ
> Отцевську-матчину молитву
> Штить, шануе, поважае;
> Того отцевська-матчина молитва
> Зо дна моря винімае,
> Одъ гріхівъ душу одкупае,
> До царствія небесного провожае:
> Та отцевська-матчина молитва
> У купецтві и въ реместві,
> Я на полі и на морі,
> На помічъ приспівае.
> Намъ годитьця тое спамьятати,
> За которими молитвами
> Стали ми хліба-соли поживати.
>
> recorded in the Kharkiv region in 1861 and
> first published in *Osnova*, 1862; Hrushevs'ka variant 5

Variants of this statement about honoring one's father and mother and about parental prayers appear not only in the two "Storm at Sea" *dumy*, but also in "The Widow and Her Three Sons." All of the "Widow" variants listed as having a statement on a mother's prayers or parental prayers, have some version of the above. The part about rescuing one's soul from the bottom of the sea does not make a great deal of sense in the "Widow" *dumy*, but regularly appears there nonetheless.

element of Ukrainian epic poetry that the scene of the transgressions against parents, elder siblings, church and village children, probably original to "Oleksii Popovych" and "Storm at Sea," can be disseminated to almost any *duma*. I have heard it added to "The Three Brothers Near the River Samarka," "Fedir, the Man Without Kin," and "The Death of a Cossack in the Kodyma Valley."[40] If the *duma* does not use the whole series of transgressions, then it will frequently use the group of lines mentioned earlier as a possible part of "The Three Brothers Near the River Samarka," namely:

> It is not the Turk's or the Janissary's bullet that has shot us,
> It is not the Turk's or the Janissary's sword that has wounded us,
> It is our father's and mother's prayers that are punishing us.[41]

This group of lines can be put into the mouth of virtually any dying Cossack except those that appear in the Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi cycle. As already

[40] I did archival and field research under the sponsorship of IREX in Ukraine in September to December, 1987. My recordings were primarily from Pavlo Suprun and Hryhorii Tkachenko, though I did some limited recording from Mykola Lytvyn and Halyna Menkush. My two primary sources get their materials from books and embellish it. Pavlo Suprun, like the traditional performer, is blind. He usually has someone read to him, transfers what he hears into Braille, then works out his own version.

[41] Several examples of the youngest brother's statement of guilt are:

> То не єсть нас, братця, яничарські кулі в чистім полі постриляли,
> Єсть то нас отцевські й матчині сльози в чистім полі побивали.
> recorded by Metlyns'kyi in 1854, Kirdan variant 2

> Ей, не єсть то нас, братця, гостра шабля порубала,
> Ні бистра куля постріляла,
> А єсть то нас отцева й матчина молитва скарала,
> Що як ми ув охотне військо виступали,
> З отцем, із маткою прощенія не приймали,
> Близьких сусід з хліба-солі збавляли,
> Мимо церков їхали, мимо святую субору, шапок не здіймали
> І на собі хреста не покладали,
> То тим-то ми своє щастя й долю потеряли.
> recorded by Martynovych in 1876, Kirdan variant 3

> Не єсть це нас шабля турецька порубала
> І не єсть нас пуля яничарська постріляла,
> А це отцева й пайматчева молитва по... покарала.
> Ой бо як ми у охотне військо од отця й од матері
> І од роду од'їжджали,
> То ми од отця й матері прощення на брали.
> Гей, як проти церкви, дому бож'єго, проїжджали,
> То ми шапок з голов не здіймали,
> Ой і господа милосердного на поміч не прохали.
> recorded from V. Shevchenko in 1912 and located
> in the Iavornyts'kyi archive, Kirdan variant 5

mentioned, it is spoken by the youngest brother of the three near the river Samarka. It can be spoken by the two elder brothers fleeing from Azov after they have been ambushed and mortally wounded by the Turks. It can be spoken by the youngest son of Ivan Sirko's widow, Fedir, the man without kin, and the Cossack in the Kodyma Valley. If all deaths are attributable to maternal or parental wrath, then the subject matter of all the *dumy* under discussion so far, at least at one level, is family relationships. Family relationships are explicitly the topic treated in the *dumy* of everyday life. All of the other songs discussed are implicitly about family relations, even though they take place in the arena of war, because family relations determine the outcome of battlefield action.

The family orientation of *dumy* is confirmed by the relative popularity of various songs. As already mentioned, "The Widow and Her Three Sons" is perhaps the most widely recorded narrative. Printed sources may not show relative popularity because they tend to print one or two versions of as many different texts as possible. Archival research, however, reveals that "The Widow and Her Three Sons" was recorded by more collectors in more places, from more different performers, than perhaps any other text.[42] Furthermore, *dumy* with a family orientation are recorded more frequently than songs where most of the action takes place on the battlefield. Finally, the Khmel'nyts'kyi cycle, the one to which the observations made here are least applicable, is the least popular. It was essentially dead by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Scholars retained interest in it, perhaps because it came closer to what they had come to expect of epic, and it was resurrected in this century from written sources by performers responding to scholarly interest.[43] In the traditional folk milieu, however, this cycle had ceased to be performed.

42 The relative popularity is already apparent from a collection like Hrushevs'ka's which tries to print all available variants, rather than just samples. Total number of variants in each source has been consistently given in the notes here; the dominance of "The Widow and Her Three Sons" and of "Ivas' Konovchenko" is clear.

My archival work under the sponsorship of IREX was done in Kiev at the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Sciences' Ryl's'kyi Institute of Art, Folklore, and Ethnography, and the Shevchenko Institute of Literature. In Lviv I worked in the Stefanyk Library at the University of Lviv and the Central Government Historical Archive. I had access to manuscript materials and some recordings.

43 This was my own observation. It is confirmed by scholars working much earlier, namely, by Sperans'kyi in the work on performers already cited and by Kolessa in his description of his collecting and musical transcription efforts: *Melodii ukrains'kykh narodnykh dum*, vols. 13 and 14 of *Materialy do ukraiins'koi ètnolohii* (Lviv, 1910 and 1913; reprinted as a separate volume edited by S. I. Hrytsa [Kiev, 1969]).

Having established that family relations are a central topic in a large body of *dumy*, we are still left with the problem of explaining the combining of family with military subject matter. The usual explanation, and one influenced by concepts derived from Western epic, goes as follows: original *dumy* were different from those actually recorded. Because *dumy* speak of real military conflicts and have as heroes men who can be connected to real historical figures, they must have originated in the milieu which they describe. Eyewitnesses to the events portrayed, impressed by the significance of these events, must have recorded them in song. Thus the creators of the genre must have been Cossacks who carried a musical instrument called a *kobza* with them into battle and who composed songs on the day's events that evening by the campfire. The transition from this hypothetical original situation to the tradition as it was observed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was postulated to be as follows: at some point, specialization occurred. Not all Cossacks sang, but only those who had been wounded and rendered incapable of fighting, or those who had been disabled by old age. For their artistic services, these men were supported by their military regiments, even though they could no longer contribute as fighters. This specialization created an association between physical disability and the singing of *dumy*. When the Cossack period ended, not just disabled military men, but all disabled men were allowed to perform. This would explain the blind perfomers attested in the period when *dumy* were recorded. Of the blind performers, only *kobzari* sang *dumy*. With time, the instrument of the *kobzari* evolved from the more simple and symmetrical *kobza* to the asymmetrical and complex *bandura*, and the performers themselves began to be referred to as *bandurysty*, as well as *kobzari*. Nonetheless, they were direct descendants of the creators of *dumy*, just as their instrument descended directly from the one for which Ukrainian epic was first composed.

It was further theorized that the *dumy* sung by blind *kobzari* at first contained only the military subject matter appropriate to the circumstances in which they were created. The everyday life topics were added under the influence of the *lirnyky*. *Lirnyky* play a hurdy-gurdy, an instrument totally dissimilar from both the *kobza* and its descendent *bandura*. They became associated with the *kobzari* or *bandurysty* because they, too, were blind, and professional performers who belonged to guilds, perhaps the same guilds as the *kobzari*. *Lirnyk* repertory originally contained only songs, including psalms, religious verses, and various moralizing songs about family life. Through contact, *lirnyky* began to sing *dumy* and *kobzari* began to sing psalms and other songs. At the same time, the subject matter of the songs

themselves blended, *dumy* acquiring everyday life topics along with military ones.[44]

I myself do not see the above as an accurate description of the history of Ukrainian epic and believe *dumy* were always sung by professional performers, if only because this is a complex genre with a special form, quite distinct from Ukrainian folksong. I do not think that *dumy* could have arisen spontaneously among military men. Be that as it may, let us accept the sequence of development from performance by Cossacks, to performance by *kobzari*, to the blending of *kobzari* and *lirnyky* repertories. Even if *dumy* did originate among military men and were meaningful to them, by the time they were recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *dumy* existed in a totally civilian milieu, with civilian performers and audiences, and remained an active genre because they had meaning in this milieu.

No one questions that this milieu was indeed civilian. If anything, a prior military setting for *duma* performance was theorized to account for the military part of *duma* subject matter and to bring Ukrainian epic closer to what scholars presumed epic ought to be. If we accept the predominance of civilian, and specifically family, subject matter in available *dumy* texts and ignore speculation about the origin of this genre—especially since, without some new discovery, we will never be able to reconstruct that situation with certainty—then we should seek an explanation not so much for the

[44] The belief that heroic epic derives from an important historical event and is a record, perhaps distorted, of that event is so wide-spread that all of its proponents, even all the Ukrainian scholars that adhered to this theory, cannot be cited. H. Munro Chadwick and N. Kershaw, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge, 1932–40), will suffice as one well-known Western reference. This theory assumes a basic human impulse to history, a drive to record all events of importance, first orally, and, after the development of writing, in writing. This is the approach behind all of the basic Ukrainian collections and other works on the *dumy*, with very few exceptions. Virtually all collections group Ukrainian *dumy* by the historical period which they supposedly reflect. Some collections tried to find a song, *duma* or other genre, for each of the better-known historical figures. An example is P. Lukashevych, *Malorossiiskie i Chervonorusskie narodnyi dumy i pesni* (St. Petersburg, 1856). There is an implied attempt to reconstruct history from song in almost all collections and an explicit one in works like P. Kulish, *Ukraina*, reprinted as vol. 3 of *Tvory Kulisha* (Berlin, 1923), and I. Sreznevskii, *Zaporozhskaia starina* (Kharkiv, pt. 1, 1833; pt. 2, 1834; pt. 3, 1838). The sequence of development from Cossack military men to blind mendicant *kobzari* is also very widely articulated. Just a few examples are Filaret Kolessa in his collection of texts, *Ukraiins'ki narodni dumy* (Lviv, 1920); Panteleimon Kulish in his notes on assorted aspects of Ukrainian folklore, *Zapiski o iuzhnoi Rusi* (St. Petersburg: vol. 1, 1856; vol. 2, 1857), and Lavrov in the book on performers already cited. Perhaps the only non-adherents to this theory were P. Zhytets'kyi, *Mysli o narodnykh malorusskikh dumakh* (Kiev, 1893), and Hnat Khotkevych, as appears in his notes in the archives of the Central Government Historical Archive, Lviv, fond 688–1. Zhytets'kyi believed in the influence of ecclesiastic and scholastic circles on *dumy*; Khotkevych seemed to believe that *dumy* had belonged among professional performers all along.

introduction of family topics into military subject matter as for the retention of military references.

If, in available *duma* recordings, family life topics are primary and military subject matter is secondary, then we should seek a meaning for war in the context of family relations. Sure enough, war does have an important symbolic meaning precisely in terms of the mother-son bond which we have seen to predominate in *dumy* plots. The problems of the mother-son diad, as presented by the *dumy* themselves, is, again, that women invest too much in their sons and expect too much from them and that men both idealize maternal self-sacrificing love and feel trapped by the need to reciprocate. One way out of this dilemma, at least from the man's perspective, is allegiance to a substitute mother, one who subsumes the biological mother and who, perhaps, takes the exacting demands of the biological mother to an extreme. Such a mother is the motherland, one's country as it is perceived in time of war.[45] Allegiance to the motherland permits the man to reject the impositions of his biological mother, much as Ivas' Konovchenko does, for he is doing this, not for himself and not to be rid of his mother, but for a greater cause which, ultimately, would serve the mother as well. Going off to war, the form which allegiance to the motherland takes, permits escape from the problematic mother-son relationship and its conflicting demands. It allows one to avoid a situation such as the one in which the widow's three sons are caught.

In terms of the Ukrainian mother-son relationship, the meaning of war is multifaceted. Being a soldier, a Cossack, means being with an all-male group, free of demanding mothers and sisters, isolated from all of those feminine things that are so pleasant and attractive and, at the same time, so restricting. Fighting means exposing one's self to mortal danger. This is something that is appropriate to a man outside the family, for the restrictions imposed by family are seen as protective, as well. Mortal danger is felt to be something that a Cossack deserves, for having abandoned female kin, and especially mothers, whose demands are always presented as legitimate. If a man chooses to ignore these demands, even for the sake of a higher cause, risk of death is just punishment.

[45] An explicit reference to the connection between mother and motherland appears in Pavlo Suprun's performance of the historical song "Morozenko," which I recorded on 21 November 1987. The song says that Ukraine grieves for Morozenko, but

> Не так тая Україна, як рідная мати,
> Плаче, плаче, Морозиха, стоя біля хати.

Death itself carries an entire complex of meanings. On one level, it is the ultimate anti-feminine, anti-mother act. A man's primary debt to his mother is to her as the person who gave him birth. Death is not only the antithesis of birth, dying is giving up the life that one's mother gave one, and the life which one owes to her. There is an international belief that war is to men what childbirth is to women. They are linked by similarity, both being the most intense experience of the nature of life. And they are also opposites, childbirth being the experience of the beginning of life and war being the experience of its end.

Perhaps the more specifically Ukrainian meaning of death in war is that death is a sacrifice that expiates guilt. In Ukrainian epic, man, both in the gender-related sense and in the sense of human being, is repeatedly seen as sinful. If Ivas' Konovchenko is as much in the right as his mother, other men are not. The widow's three sons are quite explicitly to blame for what they do to their mother, so much so that, in some versions, they do not even merit forgiveness, something that Ukrainian mothers are pictured as especially ready to give.[46] The long confession of sins in "Oleksii Popovych," which has been disseminated to other *dumy*, has already been discussed. Where there is no confession of sin, lines about being punished by parental prayer imply wrong-doing. If man is so sinful, death is his final atonement. It is understandable, then, that death, especially death voluntarily accepted, namely, death in battle, merits the singing of a man's glory, as in done in the *duma* of "Fedir, the Man Without Kin" and in the other songs where the death of the hero is the only event recounted. If all men are sinful, the distinction between the youngest brother of the three fleeing from Azov and his elder siblings disappears, and the singing of the praises of all three becomes comprehensible.

Of the sins expiated by death, one of the most serious, at least in terms of *dumy*, is abandoning parents and especially mothers. Going off to war may be a legitimate substitute for performing one's filial duties, but it is neglect of these duties nonetheless. *Dumy* tell us so explicitly. Sometimes this message is conveyed by the plot, as in "Ivas' Konovchenko" and "Ivan Sirko's Widow." Other times the hero says that his sin was in not asking parental permission to go off to war, or, in the case of three brother epics, the sin is that all three brothers leave when, according to custom, at least one should have stayed to care for the parent or parents.[47] The choice of

46 See fn. 19.

47 Variant 2 of the "Try braty samars'ki" in Kirdan, a variant recorded by A. Metlyns'kyi near Poltava and published in 1854, says that one sin of the brothers was that all three of them left to enter the military at once.

war is not a simple solution to the problems of filial relations. Merely making the choice involves assuming a tremendous burden of guilt. The conflict between the legitimacy of going to war to defend the motherland and the legitimacy of parental demands is one of the great and unresolvable contradictions of Ukrainian culture. This is the real epic struggle—not battles between Ukrainians and human enemies. According to *dumy*, death resolves this conflict. If the same war that justifiably took a man away from his mother kills him, then the rift between mother and son is healed. Mothers accept their sons back, no matter how much anger they had felt towards them, as is done by Ivas' Konovchenko's mother, and the tradition accepts its errant heroes by singing their praises, no matter how they had behaved in life.

The belief that men who go to war and especially men who die in battle deserve special honor persists to this day. Anyone who has been to Soviet Ukraine knows about the attention paid to the Second World War and the consideration given to its veterans. The special reward reserved for those who died in the war is a symbolic return to mother. In Kiev there is an enormous World War II monument called Batkivshchyna-Maty, or "Fatherland-Mother." This huge female figure, androgenous not just in name but in form, stands column-like on the hills above the Dnieper, sword held erect. She is not the pathetic mother of "The Widow and Her Three Sons," but a strong woman like the mother of Ivas' Konovchenko and the wife of Ivan Sirko. She looks like a mother who might demand the ultimate sacrifice from her sons. Inside this statue is a war museum, containing not just the guns and other weapons found in such museums in the West, but relics of the men who died in war: a bloody shirt, along with a photograph of the man who died wearing it, a bloody passport through which a soldier was shot. In this museum, men who died in war are literally permitted to return to mother, albeit they do so in the form of their relics, and the mother is a concrete representation of the abstract motherland. This is perhaps a too blatant expression of the sentiments of *dumy*. Public opinion of the statue is that it is in bad taste.[48] This may be because Batkivshchyna-Maty lacks the subtlety of expression found in traditional art.

[48] During my stay in Kiev in the fall of 1987, I heard the gamut from casual comments in elevators about the Batkivshchyna-Maty and how tasteless it was, to a variety of legends, some told to me by well-educated citizens of Kiev, about the statue and curses and bad luck associated with it. The gist of the legends was that, while it protects the war dead, it tends to "attack" all of the living who work on it, causing illness and accidents.

So far we have discussed all of the *dumy* of the everyday life cycle and those epics of the Turko-Tatar cycle in which the hero dies. We have also stated that the observations made here do not apply to *dumy* about Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. This leaves a few individual songs and one large group, the epics about captivity, a subdivision of the Turko-Tatar cycle. Examined with the importance of mother-son relations in mind, *dumy* about captivity can be seen to contain an inordinate amount of womb imagery. It is not just that the dungeons or the galleys in which captured Cossacks languish are cavernous and dark, and that the captives are unable to see the sun for many years (usually some multiple of three). It is not just that the men are whipped and made to bleed. It is that captivity is presented as strangely luxurious and attractive. We have already mentioned that the older two brothers escaping from Azov carry rich booty, goods so fine that they refuse to throw these away for the sake of the youngest brother. In two captivity *dumy*—"Ivan Bohuslavets'" and "The Baby Falcon"—the allure of captivity is the central topic.[49] Both Ivan and the metaphorical falcon are so enchanted by the pleasures of their confinement that they have to be shocked into remembering that freedom is preferable to captivity, no matter how sumptuous. Even when incarceration is not presented as pleasant, the captive Cossacks seem to accept it passively, as in the two captives' laments, and begin to take action and curse their plight only when the sultan's men whip them and they see their own red Christian blood against their white flesh.[50]

If imprisonment is seen as a return to the womb, then escape from captivity is pictured as rebirth. Rivaling "The Widow and Her Three Sons" for popularity, especially in recent times, is a *duma* about deliverance from incarceration called "Marusia Bohuslavka."[51] The story begins with Cossacks sitting in prison, not seeing the sun for three-and-thirty years. Like the men in the two captives' laments, they seem to accept their situation until Marusia arrives and asks them if they know what day it is. It turns out that it is the Saturday before Easter. The captives begin to lament and curse Marusia for not leaving them in their oblivion and for reminding them of a

[49] There is only one variant of "Ivan Bohuslavets'" in Hrushevs'ka, 1:14–20; Kirdan reprints the same variant. "Sokil" has 4 variants in Hrushevs'ka, 1:31–34. Kirdan gives two of these.

[50] "Nevil'nyky" is in 6 variants in Hrushevs'ka, 1:1–9, and "Plach Nevil'nyka" is in 4 variants, ibid., pp. 10–13. Kirdan gives 5 variants of the former, the latter of which is a new printing of archival materials, and 3 variants of the later, the second of which is new.

[51] The number of variants of "Marusia Bohuslavka" in Hrushevs'ka is limited by comparison to my experince, both working in archives and collecting from performers. She gives only 6 variants, 1:21–27. Kirdan gives 7 variants; 5–7 are new publications of archival material. He also lists a number of published sources for additional variants.

holiday so important to Orthodox Christianity. Marusia comforts the men by telling them that her husband, the pasha, will soon be going to the mosque and entrusting her with his keys. On Easter, the day of resurrection and rebirth, Marusia receives the keys to the dungeon, frees the Cossacks, and they escape. Being an agent of rebirth and not a birth mother who then becomes a burden to her sons, Marusia does not join the Cossacks in their flight to Ukraine; she stays behind. She explains that she does this because she cannot resist the temptation of Turkish luxury. It is better, however, to understand her action as another example of feminine self-sacrifice, this time with no future gain in view. After all, the escape of the prisoners will surely be discovered and the only person who had the keys will surely be punished, probably by execution. Marusia is a kind of balance to her rival for popularity, the widowed mother of three sons. The latter is the burdensome biological mother; Marusia, the agent of rebirth, is an ideal that cannot survive.

The womb and rebirth imagery in the *dumy* about captivity can be interpreted in a number of ways. Any withdrawal from the arena of war, even if it is the negative one of captivity, is seen in feminine terms and is viewed as somewhat attractive. Another interpretation is that, while Cossack company is all-male and joining it is a form of anti-mother, anti-feminine rebellion, war itself may be seen as female. As already mentioned, statues representing war are female. Death in war is compared to marriage, not only in "Ivas' Konovchenko," but in a number of lyric songs and historical songs. Death in war permits reunion with mother and family. Going off to war may be escaping the bonds and demands of the biological mother, but it means surrendering to an abstract, grand, and powerful female principle. It is interesting, and depressing to a scholar who is herself a woman, that precisely the negative manifestations of this principle—namely, death and captivity—are the ones most clearly seen as feminine.

In conclusion, then, Ukrainian heroism is different from that found in Western epic, but it is no less heroic. Taking on an abstract feminine principle requires greater courage than facing a human or a mortal enemy. Being willing, for the sake of a greater cause, to assume a burden of guilt before one's family, a burden which can only be expiated by death, demands tremendous courage and moral strength. The difference between Ukrainian and Western epic is that, while the latter may indeed be understood in terms of war, the former needs to be understood in terms of the civilian milieu in which it functioned and in terms of the matters important and problematic to this milieu, such as mother-son relations. Mother-son relations are so central to Ukrainian culture that they are portrayed as the most important family bond in the *dumy* of everyday life. They help

explain heroism and the praises sung for the heros who die in the *dumy* of the Turko-Tatar cycle. They help account for the imagery used in *dumy* about captivity. They seem to have influenced modern popular art, as in the choice of a statue containing soldier relics and literally called "Mother" to represent the Second World War.

The dominance of civilian subject matter in Ukrainian epic, by comparison to the traditions which form our Western literary consciousness, may be a matter of cultural difference. It may also be the result of the fact that most of our Western epics exist only as written sources discovered, and possibly written, long after the tradition itself was dead. The Ukrainian texts we have were recorded from a living tradition, still quite active into this century. The performers from whom Ukrainian epic was collected were mendicant blind minstrels who, from what we can tell, performed to a heavily female audience. They themselves were not military men, and they responded to the concerns of their civilian listeners. The subject matter of *dumy* is precisely what we might expect to be meaningful in this context. While searching for origins is always intriguing, it must necessarily involve a great deal of speculation. With a living tradition like the Ukrainian, we can, in addition to speculating, come up with certainty. We can know the meaning of epic in the context in which it functioned and was recorded. While *dumy* may or may not have once flourished among military men, we know that they dealt with problems important to Ukrainian culture as a whole.

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The Slap, the Feral Child, and the Steed: Pasek Settles Accounts with Mazepa

ROMAN KOROPECKYJ

In 1661, on his way from an army encampment in Kielce to Belorussia, Jan Chryzostom Pasek, a petty gentryman in the army of the then *wojewoda* of Ruthenia Stefan Czarniecki, encountered Jan (Ivan) Mazepa, "an ennobled Cossack" and a trusted page (*pokojowy*) at the court of King Jan Kazimierz.[1] The meeting was not auspicious. Believing that Pasek was relaying secret letters from a confederation (*związek*) formed in Kielce by soldiers demanding back pay to supporters in Belorussia, Mazepa quickly rode to the king in Hrodna (Grodno) and mistakenly informed on the unsuspecting Pasek. Apparently (nine pages of the manuscript are missing at this point) the king's men arrested Pasek and escorted him to Hrodna. On the way, a contingent of Lithuanian confederates attempted, unsuccessfully, to free him, which further compromised Pasek in the eyes of the king.[2] However, at the inquisition in Hrodna Pasek, an accomplished orator, managed to convince the senators and subsequently the king himself of his innocence. The king not only exonerated the offended gentryman from Mazepa's accusations but, according to Pasek, asked him for forgiveness and gave him five hundred ducats, saying, "A man who does a good deed should not be tossed out over the fence" (262). As for Mazepa, Pasek has the king say: "He who has deceived (*udał*) us has already been rewarded for his thoughtlessness (*płochość*), since he has lost our favor and will never be able to restore it" (261).[3]

This is how Pasek describes his 1661 encounter with Mazepa in his *Pamiętniki*, perhaps the most fascinating and idiosyncratic specimen of Old Polish memoiristic writing. At the time the memoirs were being composed

[1] Jan Pasek, *Pamiętniki*, 5th ed., ed. W. Czapliński, Biblioteka Narodowa, ser. 1, 62 (Wrocław, 1979), p. 211. All references in the text are to this edition. All translations are mine, with the help, however, of C. S. Leach, trans. and ed., *Memoirs of the Polish Baroque. The Writings of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, a Squire of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 104–22, 152–56.

[2] See Czapliński's reconstruction of the events in Pasek, *Pamiętniki*, p. 211, fn. 259.

[3] Pasek's is the only source of information on this moment in Mazepa's biography, and he provides no further information with regard to exactly how this temporary fall from the king's favor manifested itself.

(between 1690 and 1695),[4] the young Cossack at Jan Kazimierz's court had already become leader of the Hetmanate (1687), a confidant of Peter I and of some of his most powerful advisers, and, consequently, an influential personage on the political landscape of Russia, Ukraine, and Poland-Lithuania in the last decades of the seventeenth century. It is not surprising, therefore, that a meeting with such a prominent figure well before his emergence into the spotlight should merit a place in the memoirs of a provincial gentryman, and all the more so since it had very nearly caused Pasek to lose his reputation and perhaps his life. The encounter of 1661 was not, however, the last between the two men, although by the same token it could not but affect both the tenor of their second encounter in 1662 and, more importantly, the manner in which the Polish memoirist figures the person of Mazepa in his narrative.

Pasek's memoirs are organized chronologically, with the notation of each new year (from 1656 to 1688) constituting as it were a separate chapter heading. Although within this scheme Pasek often discourses on the flow and meaning of larger political events, he adheres primarily to his "*propositum*" of describing "only. . . *statum vitae meae, non statum Reipublicae*, in order *reducere in memoriam* each of my *actiones*" (172). But, while much of the work is a rather dry chronological account of personal experiences, there are a number of sections that stand out by virtue of their narrative organization and artistry, by their very tendency, as one critic put it, toward narrativity.[5] These sections, as Bronisław Chlebowski was the first to point out, were probably anecdotes that Pasek had repeated many times throughout the course of his life in a society particularly appreciative of the art of storytelling. As a result, he "developed greater ease of expression and a greater perfection of form, omitting that which did not make an impression on his listeners and emphasizing those details and expressions which were to their taste."[6] Pasek, by the same token, is not loath to recount anecdotes heard second-hand or even to project himself as their hero, to say nothing of his capacity for exaggeration, for blurring the line "between actual events, both 'historical' and 'personal,' and those which are invented or anecdotal."[7] As such, the best of his anecdotes share their structure, their methods of characterization, their irony and humor—including culmination

[4] Cf. Czapliński's introduction to *Pamiętniki*, p. LIV.

[5] J. Trzynadlowski, "Sztuka pamiętnikarska Jana Chryzostoma Paska," *Prace Polonistyczne* 20 (1964): 273.

[6] B. Chlebowski, "Jan Chryzostom Pasek i jego *Pamiętniki*" (1879), in his *Pisma* (Warsaw, 1912), 3:352.

[7] J. Rytel, Pamiętniki *Paska na tle pamiętnikarstwa staropolskiego. Szkic z dziejów prozy narracyjnej* (Wrocław, 1962), p. 72.

in a well-turned pointe—with that most popular of Old Polish narrative genres, the *facetia*.[8] And if, as is most commonly the case, these anecdotes appear in isolation, surfacing as a solitary unit in the course of mundane descriptions of events, they also appear as parts of cycles, some (the Danish campaigns, the wars with Muscovy) of almost epic proportions, others (the anecdotes about the trained otter, the hunting stories) limited to a few stories linked together by a common subject or theme.[9]

Although Pasek's preference for the self-enclosed narrative that transcends the chronological mode of organization through associative digressions and the introduction of non-personal anecdotes has led some scholars, most notably Brückner, to overstate the coherence of the whole or parts of the work,[10] the memoirist's account of his second encounter with Mazepa in 1662, together with the anecdote about the *juvenis ursinus Lithunanus* at Jan Kazimierz's court and the hearsay story about the (now legendary) punishment inflicted on Mazepa by a jealous husband, constitutes just such a single, consciously constructed, and most certainly consciously intended, narrative unit. As I shall try to demonstrate, the coherence of this unit is as much a function of its formal narrative features as it is of its "motive."

In order to understand Pasek's figuration of both the 1661 incident in Hrodna and the series of episodes listed under the year 1662, it should once again be stressed that the events described occurred some thirty years before the actual composition of the memoirs. Faulty memory and a penchant for exaggeration aside, the respective fortunes of the two "protagonists," but particularly those of Mazepa, had changed radically over the course of this period. From a retainer at the court of Jan Kazimierz, the "ennobled Cossack" had risen to the highest office in the Hetmanate and had become a prominent actor on the East European political scene.[11] By contrast, Pasek, a man proud of his gentry origins, was at the time of the

8 Cf. J. Krzyżanowski and K. Żukowska-Billip, *Dawna facecja polska (XVI–XVIII w.)* (Warsaw, 1960), p. 19; and R. Pollack, "Pasek i jego *Pamiętniki*," in his *Wśród literatów staropolskich* (Warsaw, 1966), p. 435.

9 On cyclicity in Pasek's memoirs, see Rytel, Pamiętniki *Paska*, pp. 75–81; and Trzynadlowski, "Sztuka pamiętnikarska Paska," pp. 273, 274.

10 "This is the first Polish historical romance (*historyczny romans*) that is worthy of standing side by side with *The Three Musketeers* and the heroes of Sienkiewicz": A. Brückner, *Dzieje literatury polskiej w zarysie* (Warsaw, n.d.), 1:268. Cf. Czapliński's introduction to *Pamiętniki*, pp. XLIX–L; and Trzynadlowski, "Sztuka pamiętnikarska Paska," p. 272.

11 Of the many books and articles on Mazepa, see, above all, F. M. Umanec, *Getman Mazepa, Istoričeskaja monografija* (St. Petersburg, 1897); E. Borschak and R. Martel, *Vie de Mazeppa* (Paris, 1931); C. J. Nordmann, *Charles XII et l'Ukraine de Mazepa* (Paris, 1958); O. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta joho doba* (=Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Ševčenka, 170) (New York, 1960); and W. Majewski, "Mazepa, Jan (Iwan)," *Polski słownik biograficzny*, s.v.

writing of his memoirs an embittered petty landowner whose life consisted of a series of land suits and trials that culminated in his disgrace and banishment.[12] Pasek, therefore, may have held more than just a grudge against the *szalbierz* Mazepa for the incident in Hrodna. There is, as we shall see, a distinct element of resentment against the Cossack for his early successes at the royal court and, one may assume, for those that were to follow. In fact, if the memoirs are viewed as the *apologia pro vita sua* of a gentryman whose own behavior—rapaciousness, cruelty, litigiousness, and adventurism—was in fact no less contemptible than that of which he accuses Mazepa,[13] the malicious figuration of the Cossack—a foreigner and a parvenu—becomes a form of self-righteous self-justification. At the same time, however, the petty gentryman from Gosławice cannot refrain from both boasting of his acquaintance with the now famous personage and, by the same token, reveling at the chance to expose his "feet of clay" by recounting certain youthful indiscretions and humiliations. How much truth there is in the episodes that Pasek records under the year 1662 is difficult to say. But in his old age the memoirist appears to have jumped at the opportunity to give satisfaction, at least in the form of literary displacement, to his grudge against Mazepa:[14] had he lived he would certainly have nodded knowingly at the hetman's shifting alliances and with no little satisfaction at his demise after Poltava.

The first of Pasek's 1662 stories involving Mazepa concerns an exchange of insults and an aborted duel between the two men at the king's court in Warsaw. A transition typical of Pasek's memoirs[15] indicates that we are indeed dealing with the first element of a cycle. A lengthy (264–320) and factually detailed day-by-day account of events (in this case a trip from Hrodna to Warsaw, where he is received by the king after successfully completing a mission entrusted to him), interspersed with citations from several official letters, concludes, in marked contrast to the preceding section, with a chronologically unspecific recapitulation: "The king commanded me to come every day for consultations and to get money for victuals. . . . We drank often with courtiers. . ." (320). The function of the passage immediately following—

[12] For a good, concise biography of Pasek, see W. Czapliński, "Pasek, Jan Chryzostom," *Polski słownik biograficzny*, s.v. For an earlier sketch, see Chlebowski, "Pasek i jego *Pamiętniki*," pp. 313–50.

[13] On the "hidden" facts of Pasek's life, see J. Czubek, *Jan Chryzostom z Gosławic Pasek w oświetleniu archiwalnym (1667–1701)* (Cracow, 1898).

[14] For a similar view, see V. Lutsiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa* (Toronto, 1954), pp. 16–17.

[15] See Rytel, Pamiętniki *Paska*, p. 78.

> Mazepa had by now made his apology to the king for that misrepresentation (*szalbierstwo*) in Hrodna and had come back to the court again. We would rub shoulders, going about there side by side, for his accusation had done me no harm, indeed it had brought me profit and fame. . . but even so, I did often grumble angrily at him, and particularly when drunk, since usually it is such times that one's grudges loom the largest (320)

—also chronologically unspecific and transitionally somewhat abrupt, is not so much to provide a factual account of events as to introduce the central components—Mazepa, the king's court, daily proximity, the grudge, alcohol—of the narrative that follows.

In an inebriated state, Pasek taunts Mazepa by alluding to his Cossack origins (he calls him an "*assawul*"), to which Mazepa retorts by alluding to the former's capture in Hrodna. Pasek, only waiting for such an occasion, hits Mazepa across the mouth and both men reach for their swords. Only the presence of the king in a nearby room prevents them from engaging in a duel (a capital offence at the royal residence). Deprived of the opportunity of receiving satisfaction by force of arms, Pasek nonetheless feels himself completely vindicated—or, rather, vindicates himself some thirty years after the fact—by writing that, "None of the courtiers stood by [Mazepa], for they also did not look very kindly upon him, he being a bit of a fraud (*szalbierz*) and, in addition, a recently ennobled Cossack (*Kozak niedawno nobilitowany*)." He adds maliciously that, "Mazepa went off almost in tears; it was not so much the blow that pained him as that the courtiers had not stood by him like a colleague" (321–22). And, despite the gravity of Pasek's behavior toward a courtier of the king, even Jan Kazimierz ultimately refuses to take his protégé's side, remarking, according to the memoirist, "Good that Mazepa paid only with [the blow to the mouth]; let him know next time not to spread false rumors (*fałszywe udawać rzeczy*)" (322).

Whatever the veracity of this story,[16] it serves to introduce—or, rather, reiterate—the most important motifs and sets of relationships of the Mazepa

[16] Both Borschak and Martel, *Vie de Mazeppa*, p. 9, and Majewski, "Mazepa," dismiss the story as a product of Pasek's vengeful imagination. Earlier biographers—for instance, Umanec, *Getman Mazepa*, p. 17, and A. Jensen, *Mazepa. Historiska Bilder frå Ukraina och Karl XII:s Dagar* (Lund, 1909), pp. 36–40—accept Pasek's version of events. In the preface to his publication of several of Mazepa's letters, August Bielowski, while accepting the fact that the incident did indeed take place, maintains that Pasek passes over in silence the real reason for the argument: the Polish gentryman picked a fight with Mazepa at the instigation of Piotr Opaliński, who was seeking revenge on the Cossack for having caused him to lose his position at court: A. B[ielowski], "Jan Mazepa i jego listy," *Biblioteka Ossolińskich*, n.s. 4 (1864): 152. However, Bielowski identifies his source only as "one of our honorable countrymen from far away" (p. 162).

cycle. In the first place, it identifies dissemblance as the outstanding trait of Mazepa's character—"*udał*," "*szalbierz*," "*szalbierstwo*," "*fałszywe udać rzeczy*"—a trait that not only Pasek ascribes to the Cossack, but also the king's courtiers and the king himself. To what extent this perception of Mazepa was a function of his personality as an individual is difficult to say, but it is by no means irrelevant to note here that a common seventeenth-century Polish stereotype of the Ruthenian was precisely that of a dissembler, of someone untrustworthy.[17] That we may indeed be dealing with at least a conflation of personal and ethnic characteristics is partially reflected in the second thematic structure of the anecdote, namely, the "solidarity" of the courtiers as well as the king with Pasek against Mazepa. However, more important in this respect is the other component of the second motif: Pasek—and by extension, the courtiers and the king (who, we should remember, was himself a foreigner)—views Mazepa as a parvenu, "*Kozak to był nobilitowany*," "*Kozak niedawno nobilitowany*," an upstart outsider as much by virtue of his estate origins as by virtue of his origins as a Cossack. The two, it would appear from the memoirs, are inextricably linked in Pasek's mind, a linkage that is, in my view, pivotal for the intentional structure of the cycle.

The second episode in the cycle—the story of the *juvenis ursinus Lithuanus*—is presented by Pasek as a direct chronological continuation ("The next day—a Saturday it was. . ."; 322) of the preceding account of the incident with Mazepa. At the same time, however, it shares its anecdotal structure and, more importantly, its central motifs. Having finally found the courage to return to Jan Kazimierz's court after learning that the king was not angry with him for his behavior toward his Cossack courtier, Pasek, or so he writes, joins the royal couple for a meal. After describing the meal briefly and remarking that "sweets were being served at the time," he adds: "And there was a small bear (*niedźwiadek*), *alias in forma* a man, *circiter* about thirteen years old. . ." (323). Although the presence of this bear-child[18] provides the memoirist with an opportunity to recount the history of

17 See, for example, a 1650 variation on Camerarius's *Arithmologia Ethica, Sententiae Morales Certis Numeris Comprehensae*: "Graeci Russi inconstantes, infideles, fures, iugum ferre assueti. . . ." Cited in S. Kot, "Nationum proprietates," *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 6 (1955): 5; cf. ibid., pp. 42–43, and A. Kępiński, *Lach i Moskal. Z dziejów stereotypu* (Warsaw and Cracow, 1990), pp. 24–27.

18 Whether Pasek actually saw this feral child or only heard about it second-hand, its existence is apparently not a product of his imagination. In his 1758 edition of *Systema Naturae*, Linnaeus records a *juvenis ursinus Lithuanus* at the court of Jan Kazimierz sometime in the late 1650s or early 1660s. Linnaeus himself drew his information from a 1721 work by Gabriel Raczyński, entitled *Historia naturalis curiosa Regni Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lituaniae annexarumque provinciarum*, which relies on several eyewitness accounts of the

its capture (according to him, by Marcjan Ogiński in Lithuania while bear-hunting) and to discuss its possible origins (either "*ex semine viri cum ursa*"; or snatched by a she-bear when very young, the child "*ubera suxit* and *assumpsit* as a consequence *similitudinem animalis*"; 323), the digression in fact constitutes the set-up for an anecdote. Noting that "the scamp was capable neither of human speech nor human behavior, only animal," he goes on to recount how, given a sweetened pear peel by the queen, Marie-Louise (Ludwika Maria), the bear-child "with great eagerness put it in his mouth; but tasting it, spat it into his hand and hurled this slobbery peel right between the queen's eyes," all to the great merriment of the king and his company, and to the furious consternation of the queen (323–24).

The shift in Pasek's own projection of his role from central protagonist in the earlier incident with Mazepa to that of a simple observer would appear to signal that Pasek may not have actually witnessed the queen's humiliation, that he may only have heard about it at the court (as he did the opinions concerning the boy's origins) and decided subsequently to include it in his memoirs as a "personal" experience.[19] However this may be, the placement of the anecdote here, precisely within and at this point of the Mazepa cycle, is, as we shall see, motivated not so much by chronology as by composition and theme. Indeed, not only does the story of the bear-child serve to develop motifs introduced earlier, it in fact constitutes the necessary pendant to Pasek's figuration of Mazepa and his relationship to him. After all, it is during this dinner that, according to the memoirist, the king "made [Mazepa and Pasek] shake hands, apologize" (324).

As in the incident with Mazepa, the pleasure Pasek derives from the anecdote with the *juvenis ursinus* stems from the humiliation experienced by an outsider, in this case the French queen of Jan Kazimierz, and the "solidarity" of the reaction to it by the king and his courtiers. If throughout his memoirs Pasek generally exhibits affection and respect toward the king, like the great majority of his fellow petty gentrymen he expresses dislike for Marie-Louise and downright contempt for the French and for Polish Francophiles. Under the year 1664, for instance, he enthusiastically concurs with Jerzy Lubomirski's complaints about "the rancor and intrigues (*zawziętość i praktyki*) of Queen Ludowika, *natione* a French woman determined *inducere gallicismum* upon our freedoms by installing a French

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wild boy. For a full account of this first recorded case of a Lithuanian bear-child (there were two more in the 1690s), see J. A. L. Singh and R. M. Zingg, *Wolf-Children and Feral Man* (1942; reprint, n.p., 1966), pp. 211–15. See also L. Malson, *Wolf Children* (London, 1972), pp. 39–40, 80.

[19] On the variety and significance of Pasek's roles in *Pamiętniki*, see Rytel, Pamiętniki *Paska*, pp. 82–112; and Trzynadlowski, "Sztuka pamiętnikarska Paska," p. 273.

dandy on the throne..., that...there are more Frenchmen in Warsaw than fanned Cerebrus's fires; they throw money around and carry on intrigues, and especially nocturnal (*praktyki czynią, a najbardziej nocne*), enjoying great freedom in Warsaw and great esteem;...a Frenchman is always free to enter at the court, while a Pole must stand up to half a day at the door" (353). In the episode with the feral child, therefore, Pasek's feeling of frustration in a changing society is again translated into a sense of malicious satisfaction at the humiliation of shifty ("*praktyki czynią, a najbardziej nocne*") foreigners whom he views as usurping—and, at a distance of thirty years, perhaps as already having usurped—the rightful privileges of the Polish *szlachta*. And whether out of guilt or self-delusion, it is a satisfaction he makes all the sweeter in his memoirs by claiming that it was shared not only by fellow gentrymen, but by the king himself.

However, if the (probably retrospective) interpolation of the anecdote about the queen and the feral child into Pasek's account of his relationship with Mazepa would appear to reinforce the theme of the outsider and his/her humiliation, it at the same time introduces a new element—ingratitude—to an equation that becomes evident only in the epilogue of the third and final story of the Mazepa cycle. The equation in fact functions as the pointe to the entire cycle.

Tellingly enough, Pasek recounts the best-known anecdote of the Mazepa triptych in one breath with the reconciliation scene at the king's dinner: "And so we made our peace, and afterward we sat down together and drank; but true to form (*po staremu*) Mazepa in the next year departed from Poland in shame for this reason..." (324). What follows is the famous story of Mazepa's ride strapped naked to a steed, a story that would enjoy its heyday in the Romantic period among such artists as Byron, Hugo, Słowacki, Delacroix, Vernet, Liszt, as well as a host of imitators.[20] Pasek's story, told with particular verve and undisguised glee, concerns Mazepa's amorous visits to the wife of one Falbowski, a neighbor of his in Volhy-

[20] The fullest, although woefully inadequate and often inaccurate, treatment of the Mazepa theme in European Romanticism is H. F. Babinski, *The Mazeppa Legend in European Romanticism* (New York, 1974), which provides a useful list of the various Romantic reworkings of the legend (pp. 151–53). See also Z. Raszewski, "Mazepa," in *Prace o literaturze i teatrze ofiarowane Zygmuntowi Szweykowskiemu*, ed. J. Maciejewski et al. (Wrocław, 1966), pp. 435–41. For an earlier study, see A. Jensen, "Mazepa in der modernen europäischen Dichtung," *Ukrainische Rundschau*, 1909, no. 7, pp. 299–305. One of the more curious theatrical reworkings of the legend, but not mentioned in any of the studies devoted to the subject, is Charles White's *Mazeppa. An Equestrian Burlesque in Two Acts* (New York, n.d.). Based on Byron's "Mazeppa," it was written sometime in the first half of the nineteenth century for black actors and audiences as part of Brady's Ethiopian Drama series and reset in Long Island and Weehawken, N. J.

nia.[21] Having found out about the visits from his servants, Falbowski sets a trap for both Mazepa and the unfaithful wife. He intercepts an invitation from the latter to her lover and asks his servant to relay it to Mazepa with the request that he inform Mrs. Falbowska in writing of his intentions of visiting her. The servant then turns Mazepa's answer over to Falbowski who, upon stopping Mazepa on his way to the tryst, confronts him with it. Caught red-handed, Mazepa at first lies unconvincingly, "that 'it's but the first time I'm riding there, I've never stopped there before' " (325). But the servant's testimony forces a confession and, what in the eyes of Pasek's milieu would certainly be considered cowardly, a plea for his life. Falbowski decides to punish the Cossack by tying him naked to his own spirited steed and sending it crashing through thickets and brambles. When the horse finally arrives at Mazepa's homestead, its rider is so disfigured that he at first terrifies his servants who recognize him only after some pleading on his part. The husband's punishment of his unfaithful wife is no less cruel: tying a pair of spurs "somewhere around his knees," he knocks at his window where his wife is expecting Mazepa. She greets Falbowski as the expected guest, but Pasek tactfully omits what followed, noting only, "*Sufficit* that it was a conspicuous and celebrated punishment and reminder for immoral people" (327).

That Pasek's story was not completely a product of his imagination is evinced by the existence of at least three other more or less contemporaneous and more or less independent accounts—the anonymous *Pamiętniki do panowania Augusta II* (1696–1728); Marquis de Bonac's *Mémoires* (early eighteenth century); and Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731)[22] —of an

[21] Stanisław Falibowski, a resident of Volhynia, appears in Kasper Niesiecki's *Herbarz polski* (Leipzig, 1839–45), 4:12–13. Cf. I. Kamanin, "Mazepa i ego 'prekrasnaja Elena,'" *Kievskaja starina* 16 (1886): 524 (Falibowski/Xvalybozskyj); Bielowski, "Mazepa i jego listy," p. 154 (Falboski); and Raszewski, "Mazepa," p. 436, fn. 2.

[22] *Pamiętniki do panowania Augusta II napisane przez niewiadomego autora*, ed. E. Raczyński (Poznań, 1838), pp. 173–74; "Mémoire du Marquis de Bonac sur les affaires du nord, de 1700 à 1710," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 3 (1889): 101–2; Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*, in his *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 16 (Paris, 1878), p. 237. Voltaire may have received his information from de Bonac, although it is quite likely that he also may have heard about it from Hetman Pylyp Orlyk's son, Hryhor, who acted as an emissary for his father in France. See Babinski, *The Mazeppa Legend*, p. 8. In any case, it was Voltaire's account that became the source for André Constant Dorville's 1764 novel, *Mémoires d'Azéma, contenant diverses anecdotes des règnes de Pierre le Grand, Empereur de Russie et de l'Impératrice Catherine son Épouse*, and subsequently of Byron's "Mazeppa" (1817–1818), which spawned in turn a string of reworkings in various media. See Lord Byron, *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. J. J. McGann (Oxford, 1986), 4:493–94; and Babinski, *The Mazeppa Legend*, pp. 5–46. By all accounts, the first work to have been inspired directly by Pasek's anecdote was the poem "Dumka Mazepy" (1824) by Bohdan Zaleski, who in a note to the poem says he saw a manuscript of the memoirs (the first full book edition of *Pamiętniki* appeared in 1836). See

analogous incident involving Mazepa. All of them contain the essential elements: a cuckolded husband extracts revenge on the Cossack by tying him (in some versions after covering him with tar) to a spirited steed and turning it loose; the rider at first terrifies those who finally rescue him. This convergence has led several scholars to investigate the ostensible historical basis of the anecdote,[23] with the result, at least, that the future hetman's reputation as a ladies' man cannot be relegated completely to the realm of fiction. Yet, the truth factor of Pasek's anecdote about Mazepa is, as in the case of his story of the queen's humiliation by the feral child, ultimately irrelevant. It would appear from the existence of the various, closely related accounts that by the time the gentryman from Gosławice was composing his memoirs the story of Mazepa's amorous misadventure must have had rather wide currency. Indeed, the manner in which Pasek recounts the episode—no pretense on the part of the narrator of personal involvement, the regular use of the *praesans praeteritum* (in contrast to the past tense of the preceding stories), the short, elliptical phrases, the rapid exchange of dialogue, the accumulation of concrete details as a means of developing tension—gives every indication that we are dealing with a stock anecdote, colored, characteristically for the genre, by the personal style of the storyteller. However, if, as presented in Pasek's memoirs, the story of Mazepa's ride constitutes a typical Old Polish *facetia*,[24] what sets the anecdote apart is Pasek's ability to imbue it with an almost allegorical function by cleverly integrating it into a cycle of stories that figure his own relationship with Mazepa.[25]

Józef Bohdan Zaleski, *Wybór poezyj*, 3rd ed., ed. C. Gajkowska, Biblioteka Narodowa, ser. 1, 30 (Wrocław, 1985), pp. 38–39n.; and Babinski, *The Mazeppa Legend*, pp. 92–94.

23 See, for instance, Kamanin, "Mazepa i ego Elena," passim, who on the basis of archival documents identifies the woman as Helena Zagorowska/Olena Zahorovs'ka, née Kowalewska/Kovalevs'ka, wife of Jan Zagorowski/Ivan Zahorovs'kyj, a prominent citizen of Volhynia (cf. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, 10:24, 25), and dates the incident to 1663. Umanec, *Getman Mazepa*, pp. 20–25, believes that in about 1664 some sort of incident between Mazepa and Falbowski did indeed take place, but that for various reasons it became conflated with the Zahorovs'kyj affair, which he dates to 1669. Drawing on the anonymous *Pamiętniki do panowania Augusta II*, H. Krasiński, *The Cossacks of the Ukraine: Comprising Biographical Notices of the Most Celebrated Cossack Chiefs or Attamans...and a Description of the Ukraine...* (London, 1848), pp. 93–94, names the well-known seventeenth-century Polish artillerist Marcin Kątski ("Martin Kontsky") as the betrayed husband. Finally, Bielowski, "Mazepa i jego listy," pp. 154–56, claims that the whole incident had nothing to do with cuckoldry but with a personal-political grudge against Mazepa on the part of Jan Sobieski, and that "Faliboski" simply acted as an instrument of the latter's revenge.

24 On the history, structure, and generic features of the Old Polish *facetia*, see Krzyżanowski and Żukowska-Billip, *Dawna facecja polska*, pp. 5–21; and T. Michałowska, "Facecja," *Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich* 14, no. 2 (1972): 181–85.

25 In one of the very few studies devoted to the literary aspects of Pasek's version of Mazepa's ride, X. Pelens'ka, "Pol's'ka lehenda pro Mazepu," *Vidnova* 3 (1985): 79–86, rejects any factual basis for the anecdote and, intriguingly enough, analyzes it as Pasek's own rework-

Like many authors of *facetia*, Pasek, too, appends a brief moralizing poem to the anecdote about Mazepa's ride. The first stanza (the second addresses Mrs. Falbowska) concerns the memoirist's nemesis:

> Adulterium i szalbierskie fochy
> Widzisz, Mazepa, jak to handel płochy:
> Szpetnie łgać i kraść, zostawszy szlachcicem!
> Niesmaczna to rzecz cudze wracać licem.
> Na szlachectwo cię król nobilitował,
> Na rycerstwo zaś Falbowski pasował (327).

[You, see, Mazepa what lousy business are adultery and deceitful pranks: Having become a gentryman, it's odious to lie and steal! It's distasteful to return what is not yours after being caught red-handed. The king raised you to the status of a gentryman, Falbowski, in turn, beknighted you.]

Though not on the level of his prose by any means, the poem performs the pivotal function of integrating, as it were, the impersonal Falbowski anecdote into Pasek's personal experience with Mazepa by drawing a none too subtle parallel between the Cossack's behavior vis-à-vis Falbowski ("*adulterium*") and his behavior vis-à-vis the memoirist himself ("*szalbierstwo*"). And, by stressing the incompatibility of such behavior with Mazepa's newly acquired social position, the poem explicity recapitulates the two central motifs of the first story in the Mazepa cycle: the dishonest nature of Mazepa's character (the operative word here is, of course, *szalbierstwo*) and his status as a parvenu ("*zostawszy szlachcicem*"; "*Na szlachectwo cię król nobilitował*"), someone Pasek deems unworthy of nobility.

However, the moralizing doggerel constitutes only the first of the two-part epilogue to the cycle. If the poem serves to link themetically the Falbowski anecdote with the Hrodna incident of 1661 and the aborted duel of 1662, a final pointe in prose links the Falbowski incident with the story of the feral child:

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ing of the Hippolytus myth (via Seneca's tragedy as well as the *vita* of St. Hippolytus). While to be sure, many *facetiae* (a context Pelens'ka does not consider) have their origins in classical mythology and its medieval variants, it is asking too much to maintain, as she does, that Pasek himself constructed the story on the basis of the myth as a form of literary revenge on Mazepa. Although the popularity of the Falbowski story may in fact have been due to its resonance with the Hippolytus myth, the existence of several independent versions appears to point to at least some factual basis for the anecdote, but in any case not to Pasek's authorship. Finally, Pelens'ka examines the anecdote independently of the cycle to which it undoubtedly belongs; and, its "originality," "authorship," or "truth factor" notwithstanding, it is precisely as an element within the Mazepa triptych that the story of his ride acquires full significance.

25 See, for instance, "Facecje polskie" (ca. 1572) or Maurycjusz Trztyprztycki's, "Co nowego abo dwór mający w sobie osoby i mózgi rozmaite" (1650), in Krzyżanowski and Żukowska-Billip, *Dawna facecja polska*, pp. 78–127, 212–33.

> So then, having mentioned these two eminent royal courtiers—the Cossack fled from Poland; on the other hand, how the bear turned out, whether they made of him a man or not, I don't know; what I do know is that he was handed over to the French for lessons and he began to learn speech well—I return here to the subject undertaken (327).

Once again Pasek resorts to a less than subtle, and certainly more insulting, parallelism that unambiguously ties the entire cycle of three stories together. By equating Mazepa with the feral child (and, by extension, with the French) via the third element of courtiership, the memoirist reiterates the theme of ingratitude for royal favors, behavior characteristic only of uncivilized creatures for whom there is no place in the "commonwealth of nobles." Indeed, the parallel suggests that, like the actions of the feral child, Mazepa's ungentlemanly behavior with regard to both Pasek and Falbowski is only to be expected of a parvenu, and—perhaps in compensation for Pasek's inability to satisfy his insult "honorably" by force of arms—that, like the reaction of the king and his courtiers to Marie-Louise's fury, one can only dismiss it with malicious laughter.

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Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns: On the Seventieth Anniversary of the Founding of Czechoslovakia

PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI

Almost at the moment that Czechoslovakia came into existence seventy years ago, political observers were quick to point out that the new country was, in a sense, the former multinational Austro-Hungarian Empire rewrit small. Indeed, with the exception perhaps of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia was the most ethnically complex country of Europe. The subject of this study is two of those peoples, the Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns, in particular their internal development and their relationship to Czechoslovakia from its establishment in 1918 to the present.

Of Czechoslovakia's 13,600,000 inhabitants recorded in 1921, the Czechs, who numbered 6,747,000, made up barely half of the population (50.4 percent), the other half being divided into several nationalities: Germans (23.4 percent), Slovaks (15 percent), Magyars (5.6 percent), Carpatho-Rusyns (3.5 percent), and others (Jews, Poles, Gypsies, together 2.1 percent).[1] The Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns were to be found almost exclusively in the eastern provinces of the republic—in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus'.[2]

[1] Václav L. Beneš, "Czechoslovak Democracy and its Problems, 1918–1920," in Victor S. Mamatey and Radomír Luža, eds. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918–1948* (Princeton, N.J., 1973), p. 40. Here and elsewhere in the text, the figures have been rounded off to the nearest thousand and half percentage point.

It should be noted that Czechoslovakia's official statistics before World War II did not distinguish between Czechs and Slovaks, but provided only the rubric "Czechoslovak." The calculation for Czechs indicated here is based on the total number of "Czechoslovaks" living in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Subcarpathian Rus' (Ruthenia); the calculation for Slovaks reflects the total number of "Czechoslovaks" in Slovakia. As for Carpatho-Rusyns, the official rubrics used to describe them have varied: *podkarpatoruský* (Subcarpathian Rusyn), *ruský* (Russian/Rusyn), and since 1945 *ukrajinský* (Ukrainian), *ruský* (Russian), *rusínský* (Rusyn). The figures appearing here and elsewhere in this study reflect all of the above terms (two or more of which are sometimes indicated separately in one statistical source), although the group will be described throughout using the name Carpatho-Rusyn, which in other sources is sometimes rendered as Ruthenian, Rusyn, Carpatho-Russian, or Carpatho-Ukrainian.

[2] As for other parts of the republic, the 1921 census recorded in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia only 6,100 Magyars and 3,300 Carpatho-Rusyns; the 1931 census recorded 11,600 Magyars and 11,100 Carpatho-Rusyns. Beneš, "Czechoslovak Democracy," p. 40.

The 1921 percentages of Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns were obviously larger in these eastern provinces than throughout the country as a whole. In Slovakia, Magyars numbered 637,000 and Carpatho-Rusyns 86,000—respectively 21.5 percent and 2.9 percent of the population in that province. In Subcarpathian Rus', the analogous figures were 373,000 (62.1 percent) Carpatho-Rusyns and 192,000 (17 percent) Magyars.[3] In terms of geography, the two groups inhabited ethnically compact areas; the Magyars were found along the southern lowlands of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus', and the Carpatho-Rusyns in the foothills and mountainous terrain of Subcarpathian Rus' and far northeastern Slovakia.

At the outset of the period, these two groups numbered together nearly 1,200,000 people (in 1921), or 8.9 percent of the total population of Czechoslovakia. Since 1945, as a result of border changes and assimilatory processes, the number of Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns has been reduced by half (in 1980, 560,000 and 37,000, respectively), and together they comprise a mere 4.1 percent of the population of the country.[4] Despite their relatively small numbers, both Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns have, because of their strategic geographic location and their relationship to peoples of neighboring states, remained an issue of serious political concern throughout most of the seven decades of Czechoslovakia's existence.

How and why did the Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns come to be a part of the new state of Czechoslovakia? Since this is not the place to elaborate on the formation of the new Czechoslovak state, suffice it to say that its final form was justified by using historic and ethnographic arguments, despite the fact that these at times might seem contradictory. While the ethnographic argument was used to justify the inclusion of Slovak-inhabited areas with Czech lands farther west, the solid Magyar-inhabited regions of what was to become southern Slovakia were demanded neither on historic nor ethnographic grounds but for strategic purposes: the Czechoslovak delegation to the Paris Peace Conference was convinced that a "border along the Danube was of utmost importance to the Czechoslovak republic," which, "to be more precise, must be a Danubian state."[5] As for Carptho-Rusyn territory, this unexpected "gift to Czechoslovakia" came as a result of a request by immigrants from that area living in the United States, although Czech leaders were quick to point out that what was to become the

[3] Beneš, "Czechoslovak Democracy," p. 40.

[4] Ivan Bajcura, *Cesta k internacionálnej jednote* (Bratislava, 1982), p. 27.

[5] From the memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference submitted by Czechoslovakia's minister of foreign affairs, Edvard Beneš, cited in Ferdinand Peroutka, *Budování státu*, pt. 2: *Rok 1919* (Prague, 1934), pp. 1103–5.

province of Subcarpathian Rus' (and was eventually to border on Romania) had strategic value as well.

The history of the Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns within Czechoslovakia can be said to fall into three periods: 1918–1938; 1938–1944; and 1945 to the present. Given the limitations of space, it is not possible to describe except in the most general terms the evolution of these two groups and to compare and contrast their development and status during these three periods.

THE INTERWAR YEARS (1918–1938)

During the first period, 1918–1938, there was in effect a basic difference in the legal status of the Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns. The Magyars, for instance, were a national minority, in contrast to both the Czechs and Slovaks (more precisely "Czechoslovaks"), who were considered the state or dominant people of the country, and to the Carpatho-Rusyns who had a special status at least in the far eastern part of the republic.

The minority status of the Magyars was made even more dubious because in the early years of the new republic their status as citizens of Czechoslovakia remained uncertain.[6] Whereas the Treaty of Saint Germain (10 September 1919) granted "without the requirement of any formality" Czechoslovak citizenship to former Hungarian citizens of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus' who had possessed legal residence in a given commune (*Heimatsrecht*), a subsequent Czechoslovak constitutional law (9 April 1920) specified that to obtain citizenship automatically, persons had to have had legal residence before 1910. As for those who did not have legal residence before that year, the Czechoslovak government reserved for itself the right to decide whether they were worthy of receiving citizenship. The practical result of this law was to encourage between 56,000 and 106,000 Magyars (mostly former officials if the first figure is accepted; officials as well as laborers if the second is accepted) to emigrate southward to postwar Hungary. This left stateless for varying periods of time during the interwar years anywhere from 15,000 to 100,000 Magyars in the southern region of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus'.[7]

In sharp contrast was the situation of the Carpatho-Rusyns. While they were not a state people like the "Czechoslovaks," they held a special status, spelled out as part of the postwar international peace agreements (Treaty of

6 The complicated question of the status of the Magyars and the devastating effect statelessness had on individuals is discussed in C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences, 1919–1937* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 160–65.

7 Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 158 and 164.

Saint Germain, 10 September 1919) and then reiterated in the Czechoslovak constitution (29 February 1920): "the Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians" would become "an autonomous unit" accorded "the fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State."[8] Among the autonomous characteristics granted the territory that came to be known as Subcarpathian Rus' (Czech: Podkarpatská Rus) were its own diet, governor, and "equitable representation" in the Czechoslovak parliament.

Whereas it is true that the specific nature of that autonomy and even the boundaries of Subcarpathian Rus' were to become issues of controversy, the fact remains that Carpatho-Rusyn territory became part of Czechoslovakia precisely because it was inhabited by a group of Slavs who, by joining voluntarily the new republic, gained a special status that at least in their own province made them more like the "Czechoslovak" state nationality than the national minorities (Magyars, Jews, Germans, Gypsies, Romanians) living in their midst.[9]

The Magyars, then, were classified as a national minority. In the Treaty of Saint Germain and again in its constitution, Czechoslovakia pledged that members of national minorities would be equal with other citizens before the law and have the right to schools in their native tongue. In actual practice, as spelled out in the constitutional language law no. 122 (29 February 1920), this meant that in judicial districts where at least 20 percent of the population comprised a linguistic minority, that minority was entitled to use its language to make submissions to the court and to receive replies. In those instances where the minority comprised at least 50 percent of the population, it was entitled to have all judicial proceedings conducted in the minority language. If a rural community had a minimum of 40 children (calculated on a three-year average) or a town 400 children, then that community or town had the right to a school in the minority language.[10]

For instance, with regard to the Magyars in Slovakia, by 1934 there were 741 Magyar rural elementary schools (1,800 classes) accommodating 91,500 pupils. This meant that 86.4 percent of the Magyar children in the republic received elementary education in their own language. The status

8 *Traité entre les Principales Puissances Alliés at Associées et la Tchécoslovaquie* (Paris, 1919), pp. 26–27; "Ústavní listina Československé republiky," in *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého*, pt. 26 (Prague, 1920), p. 256.

9 On the particular status of Subcarpathian Rus' within Czechoslovakia, see Zdeněk Peška, "Podkarpatská Rus," in *Slovník veřejného prava československého*, vol. 3 (Prague, 1934), pp. 107–15.

10 Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 154–55 and 165.

of Magyar-language schools beyond the village was not as favorable. There were only 15 Magyar elementary schools in towns, so that only 31 percent of Magyar pupils at that level received education in their own language. In addition to elementary schools, the Magyars had 5 *gymnasia*, 1 teacher's college, and parallel classes in 2 more *gymnasia* and 1 teacher's college. Therefore, 72 percent of Magyar pupils at the secondary level attended schools in their own language. In contrast, there was a pronounced shortage of technical education in Magyar (2 agricultural schools, 1 commercial academy, 1 trade school) and no Hungarian chairs at the university level.[11]

The Magyars perceived their cultural status in Czechoslovakia, based on their educational opportunities, to be even worse than the above statistics would imply. By 1934 the number of Magyar elementary schools, which before the war numbered 2,200, had been reduced by two-thirds. Not only was university education in Magyar completely abolished, but for those Czechoslovak Magyars, who ventured (often with difficulty) to study in Hungary, their diplomas were not recognized when, and if, they returned home. Such perceptions of seeming cultural injustice added fuel to the Magyars' political discontent, which was often expressed in votes for parties whose representatives spoke out frequently about the shortcomings of Czechoslovakia's educational and cultural policy toward the Magyars.[12]

Regardless of the reality or the perceptions of Czechoslovak policy, it must be stressed that there was a significant percentage of Magyars who simply could not conceive, being as they were geographically so close to Budapest, that they would one day be living in any country other than Hungary. Moreover, even though they were now under Czechoslovak rule, this was surely of a temporary nature until the borders were redrawn to include at the very least Magyar-inhabited villages and cities, if not all of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus' (the traditional Hungarian Highland—Felvidék) right up to the crest of the Carpathians. Such an attitude was summed up in

11 The figures in this paragraph are drawn from Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 166–67. For greater detail, see Juraj Purgat, *Od Trianonu po Košice: k maďarskej otázke v Československu* (Bratislava, 1970), pp. 41–48.

12 For a recent concise if often overstated review of Magyar discontent during the interwar years, see chapter 2 of Charles Wojatsek, *From Trianon to the First Vienna Arbitral Award: The Hungarian Minority in the First Czechoslovak Republic, 1918–1938* (Montreal, 1981), pp. 31–44. There are, of course, a large number of contemporary anti-Czechoslovak tracts that emanated from Hungary during the interwar years, the most comprehensive of which is the Hungarian Revision League's *Memorandum Concerning the Situation of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia* (Budapest, 1934), as well as from sympathizers abroad, like the Swiss geographer, Aldo Dami, *Les Nouveaux martyrs: destin des minorités* (Paris, 1930), esp. pp. 145–208.

a speech to the Czechoslovak parliament within a week after its Magyar members had pledged their loyalty to the Czechoslovak republic. Addressing the assembly—of course in Hungarian—the spokesman for the largest Magyar party at the time, Deputy Lajos Ékes-Körmendy of the Regional Christian Socialists, stated:

> We consider it necessary to inform world opinion that we were against our will forcibly torn away from the Hungarian body; that we were torn from the most ideal thousand-year-old Hungarian state; and that our presence here [in the Czechoslovak parliament] should not be construed as a denial of the deeds done against [our] human rights, but rather as representing a living and solemn protest against the inhuman and unjust decisions made concerning us, but without consulting us.[13]

The obvious discontent with Czechoslovakia and the anticipation of some kind of future border revisionism was typical of all Magyar political parties in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus' during the interwar years. The most important of these were the National Christian Socialist party (Országos Keresztényszocialista párt) and the Magyar National party (Magyar nemzeti párt), which in 1936 joined together to form the United Magyar party (Egyesült magyar párt) under the leadership of Count János Esterházy (1901–1957), Andor Jaross (1896–1946), and Géza Szüllő (1873–1957). These purely oppositional Magyar parties garnered on an average nearly half the votes in each of the four parliamentary elections (1920, 1925, 1929, 1935), while the rest of the Magyar vote went to the progovernment Agrarian and Social Democratic parties or to the Communist party, which was antigovernment until the signing of the Soviet-Czechoslovak pact in 1935.[14]

The relative strengths of these political parties provide perhaps some insight into the attitudes of the Magyar minority in interwar Czechoslovakia. Certainly the established elements of pre–World War I Hungarian society that remained in Czechoslovakia—the landowners, Catholic and Protestant clergymen (likely to be Magyarized Slovaks), Magyar and Magyarized Jewish lawyers, school teachers, and other petty intelligentsia and former civil servants—were to remain unreconciled to Czechoslovak rule. It was they who often formed the leadership of the Magyar parties.

[13] Cited in Purgat, *Od Trianonu po Košice*, p. 68.

[14] For details on Magyar political parties in interwar Czechoslovakia, see Purgat, *Od Trianonu po Košice*, pp. 60–126; E. Arató, *Political Differentation in the Hungarian Population of Czechoslovakia in the Post-World War I Years* (Budapest, 1975); and P. Komora, *Maďarské buržoazné strany na Slovensku (1919–1929)* (Bratislava, 1970) (=Zborník filozofickej fakulty university Komenského: Historica).

The attitudes of the Magyar peasantry were more difficult to ascertain. First of all, the peasantry clearly made up the majority (65.4 percent) of the Magyar population, followed by industrial workers (16.9 percent), merchants and financiers (6.3 percent), and civil servants and professionals (3.8 percent).[15] At first glance, it would seem that a certain percentage of the peasantry was content with Czechoslovak rule. The land reform carried out in the early 1920s helped to redistribute land more equitably (79.8 percent of the large landholdings had formerly belonged to Magyar landlords), even though the landless class did not always benefit from the reform.

Even more important was the autarchic economic policy of the Czechoslovak government, which protected grain producers from potentially cheaper imported foodstuffs. The result was that the wheat-producing areas along the southern frontier inhabited primarily by Magyars were materially better off than before the war, and the peasants living there were certainly more prosperous than their fellow Magyars across the frontier in Hungary. Nonetheless, as C. A. Macartney observed during a visit to several Magyar peasant households in the 1930s, the sentiment he frequently encountered was the following: "We are better off under the Czechs than we should be in Hungary, but if a vote came, I should still choose for Hungary."[16] Such attitudes were confirmed at the ballot box during the communal elections in June 1938, when Esterházy's United Magyar party received 58 percent of the vote in Magyar-inhabited regions, the highest any antigovernment party had received throughout the whole interwar period.[17]

In contrast to the Magyar minority, which actively or passively awaited the day when it would no longer be part of Czechoslovakia, the Carpatho-Rusyns, who also demanded changes in their status and often voted for antigovernment parties, did so not because they were bent on disrupting Czechoslovak political life but rather because they genuinely hoped to improve their own group's status within a Czechoslovak polity in which they planned to remain. Among their demands were: (1) a definition of the territorial extent of the province of Subcarpathian Rus'; and (2) implementation of the autonomy guaranteed Carpatho-Rusyns at the Paris Peace Conference.

15 Purgat, *Od Trianonu po Košice*, p. 48.
16 Cited in Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 183.
17 See the table in Purgat, *Od Trianonu po Košice*, p. 113.

With regard to territory, the original agreement reached in the United States between Tomáš Masaryk and Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants (Scranton, Pennsylvania, 12 November 1918) and the declaration of Carpatho-Rusyn unity with Czechoslovakia proclaimed in the homeland (Uzhhorod, 8 May 1919) spoke of *nine* historic counties as comprising an autonomous "Rusyn state," including at the very least and until the final Slovak-Rusyn border was drawn the northern portions of Spíš/Szepes, Šariš/Sáros, and Zemplín/Zemplén counties west of the Uzh River. This principle was then seemingly enshrined in the Treaty of Saint Germain and the Czechoslovak constitution, which stated that *all* "Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians" would become part of a single province that was to be granted autonomy.[18]

Certainly, at that time no one doubted that the northern portions of Spíš, Šariš, and Zemplín counties were inhabited by Carpatho-Rusyns. However, the peacemakers in Paris decided to fix the river Uzh as the western boundary of Subcarpathian Rus', and it was subsequently to be enshrined in the Czechoslovak constitution as the provisional boundary between the two provinces. Immediate protests lodged by Carpatho-Rusyn leaders in Paris were rebuffed by the Czechoslovak foreign minister Edvard Beneš, who correctly stated that the Slovaks would never agree to changes, since they were already discontent at not having their own border moved even farther east to include the "Slovak city" of Uzhhorod. Finally, in 1928, when the republic was administratively reorganized into four provinces, the boundary between Subcarpathian Rus' and Slovakia was definitely fixed along a line slightly west of the Uzh River (more or less the present Soviet-Czechoslovak border).

In effect, this meant that throughout the interwar period, Carpatho-Rusyns were to be administratively divided into two provinces: those living in the former counties of Uzh/Ung (only the part east of the Uzh River), Bereg, Marmarosh/Máramaros, and Ugocha/Ugocsa (numbering 372,000 in 1921) were part of the theoretically autonomous Subcarpathian Rus'; those living west of the Uzh River in western Uzh, Zemplín, Šaríš, Spiš, Abov, and Gemer counties (86,000 in 1921) were part of Slovakia.

[18] For details on the Carpatho-Rusyn–Czech negotiations in the United States and at Paris, as well as on developments in the homeland in late 1918-early 1919, see Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848–1948* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 76–102; and Ivan Vanat, *Narysy novitn'oi istorii ukraintsiv Skhidnoi Slovachchyny*, vol. 1: *1918–1938* (Bratislava and Prešov, 1979), pp. 46–102.

Such administrative division also effected the status of these two groups. Carpatho-Rusyns in Subcarpathian Rus' were virtually the state nationality, whose language and cultural institutions were considered representative of the area. On the other hand, Carpatho-Rusyns in northeastern Slovakia were only a national minority, whose rights were guaranteed to the degree that they fulfilled the requirements of the other minorities living on "Slovak" territory.

Left with at most only three-quarters of the Carpatho-Rusyn population in Czechoslovakia, the province of Subcarpathian Rus' and its political leadership was also unsuccessful in attaining its other demand—autonomy. Again, the Treaty of Saint Germain spoke specifically of the "fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State."[19] However, the question of the degree of that autonomy was to be decided by the central government in Prague.

Carpatho-Rusyn expectations regarding self-rule had been established during the initial negotiations in the United States between Masaryk and the Carpatho-Rusyn-American immigrant spokesman, Gregory Zhatkovych, in late 1918 and again at the act of union carried out in Uzhhorod in May 1919. There, and subsequently in Prague, when Subcarpathian leaders met with then President Masaryk, clear reference was made to "the Rusyns who will form an independent state in the Czecho-Slovako-Rus' Republic."[20] Great stress was put on the fact that "in all administrative and internal matters the Ugro-Russian state will be independent."[21] The American citizen Zhatkovych, who formulated most of the demands, obviously assumed that Subcarpathian Rus' would be comparable to a state in the United States. Czechoslovak reality, however, was to be far from such self-governing expectations.

The Treaty of Saint Germain and the Czechoslovak constitution both called for a governor and diet for Subcarpathian Rus'. However, the diet was never convoked, and although a Carpatho-Rusyn governor held office, his authority was virtually non-existent, since a Czech-appointed vice-governor representing the Prague government was in charge of the provincial administration. As a result, the honeymoon between Carpatho-Rusyn political leaders and the new state of Czechoslovakia dissipated rather quickly. Already in March 1921, the first governor of the province, the Carpatho-Rusyn-American Gregory Zhatkovych, resigned in protest over

19 *Traité entre les Principales Puissances*, p. 27.

20 Protocol of the Central Rusyn National Council in Uzhhorod, 16 May 1919 session, cited in Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, p. 99.

21 Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, p. 99.

the border and autonomy issues and returned to the United States.[22]

Although another governor was appointed in 1923, Prague continued its tight control over the province, which it hoped to integrate politically even further with the rest of the country. Therefore, in 1928, when a new administrative structure was created for Czechoslovakia, Subcarpathian Rus' received instead of an autonomous diet a twenty-four-member provincial assembly (one-third of whose members were appointed), to be headed by the Czech vice-governor, whose title was now changed to that of president of the renamed Subcarpathian Rusyn Land (Země Podkarpatoruská). While there was still a Subcarpathian governor, his largely ceremonial functions were, as critics were quick to comment, appropriately carried out from an office located in the building of the city museum.

Because of the uncertain political atmosphere in Subcarpathian Rus' during the first few years of Czechoslovak rule (the unresolved provincial borders, the yet-to-be convened diet, the presence of Romanian troops occupying nearly half the province until June 1920), Carpatho-Rusyns did not participate in the parliamentary elections of 1921. When the Prague government finally thought the province was ready to participate in such elections in 1924, the result was a rude shock. Sixty percent of the votes cast were for government opposition parties, the Subcarpathian Communists alone receiving 39.4 percent of the vote. The following year, in elections to the second parliament (1925), the results were not much better, with 54 percent of the vote going to opposition parties.[23]

Whereas discontent with unfulfilled autonomy and the border question were issues that motivated part of the antigovernment vote, popular discontent was primarily related to economic concerns. There was no industry in Subcarpathian Rus', and as high as 74.5 percent of the Carpatho-Rusyn population (1930) was engaged in small-scale agriculture or forestry work. Even after the land reform of the 1920s, Carpatho-Rusyn peasants (of whom 75 percent had holdings of less than 5 hectares) were at best only able to eke out a subsistence-level existence on their tiny and often unpro-

22 The governor's disillusionment with Czechoslovak rule was spelled out in Gregory I. Žatkovič, *Otkrytie-Exposé byvšeho gubernatora Podkarpatskoj Rusi, o Podkarpatskoj Rusi*, 2nd ed. (Homestead, Penn., 1921); and then later elaborated upon in several protests by Carpatho-Rusyn-American leaders, the most extensive by Michael Yuhasz, Sr., *Wilson's Principles in Czechoslovak Practice: The Situation of the Carpatho-Russian People under the Czech Yoke* (Homestead, Penn., 1929). For details on the legal relationship of Subcarpathian Rus' to the rest of Czechoslovakia during the interwar years, see Hans Ballreich, *Karpathenrussland: Ein Kapitel tschechischen Nationalitätenrechts und tschechischer Nationalitätenpolitik* (Heidelberg, 1938), esp. pp. 19–82.

23 Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, p. 206.

ductive mountainous plots.[24] Before World War I, economic catastrophe had been avoided by the possibilities of seasonal work on the fertile Hungarian plain or permanent emigration abroad, mostly to the northeast United States. Now, in the postwar circumstances of Czechoslovakia, the new border with Hungary cut off the option of summer work nearby, while United States restrictions on immigration (1921, 1924) effectively eliminated the American safety valve.

Such harsh economic reality boosted the popularity of the Subcarpathian Communist party, which called for a total transformation of society, and the fortunes of other opposition parties (Carpatho-Rusyn Agricultural Autonomist Union and Magyar parties) that played on both economic and political discontent. The result was consistent electoral losses for the progovernment Czechoslovak parties. The only exception to this pattern was the parliamentary elections of 1929. The partial relief from the land reform and the enormous governmental investments in communication, transportation, economic development, and education, combined with a concerted effort during the electoral campaign, led to a slight majority of 54 percent for progovernment parties in the Subcarpathian vote. However, the effects of the world economic depression and the worsening status of the Carpatho-Rusyn peasantry in the early 1930s resulted in the most serious electoral condemnation of Czechoslovak rule. As high as 63 percent of the Subcarpathian electorate voted for opposition parties in the 1935 parliamentary elections.[25]

Another cause of discontent was in the area of local culture, in what came to be known as the nationality question. From the very outset, when Subcarpathian Rus' was still under military rule (1919–1920), the popular (*lidový*) or Carpatho-Rusyn (*rusínský*) language was designated for use in schools and, after 1926, for use as the official language (together with Czech) in the courts, the administration, and in other official activities. In this regard, the Czechoslovak authorities genuinely wished to allow Carpatho-Rusyns to develop their own language and culture.[26]

However, no one in either the Czechoslovak governing circles or among the Subcarpathian leaders was certain just what the local language was—a dialect of Ukrainian, a dialect of Russian, or a distinct Slavic language. Arguments and counterarguments for each position were put forth, so that before long the language question was transformed into a nationality

[24] Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 235–36.

[25] Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, pp. 207–9 and 224–25.

[26] Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, pp. 136–38; Peška, "Podkarpatská Rus," pp. 114–15; and George Y. Shevelov, "The Language Question in the Ukraine in the Twentieth Century (1900–1941)," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 11, no. 1/2 (June 1987): 196–208.

question: Was the local population Ukrainian, Russian, or a distinct Carpatho-Rusyn nationality? What would each of these positions mean for the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia? And, therefore, which orientation should the Prague government support?

The Czechoslovak government's position regarding the Subcarpathian nationality question was never really consistent. Initially, until about 1923, Prague supported the Ukrainian orientation, then (until the early 1930s) the Russian orientation, and finally (by the mid-1930s) the local Carpatho-Rusyn orientation. These changes in Czechoslovak policy were not only the result of political developments in Subcarpathian Rus'; they also reflected the increasing awareness among Czechoslovak leaders of the strategic importance of the province for the country's foreign policy. However, the government's frequent shifts in cultural policy alienated the local spokesmen for each of Subcarpathia's three national orientations.[27]

Besides the discontent caused by the Czechoslovak government's changing attitudes on the Subcarpathian language and nationality questions, another cause for increasing concern was the status of an entirely new minority that made its appearance among the Carpatho-Rusyns, namely, the Czechs. Whereas there were no Czechs in Subcarpathian Rus' before 1919, within two decades they numbered more than 35,000. The Czechs formed a virtual army of local and provincial civil servants who, together with their families, descended on the province. Not only did they take jobs away from potential Carpatho-Rusyn candidates, they also took advantage of the law on schools for national minorities (40 students in villages, 400 in towns). By 1936 the number of Czech-language schools—attended as well by many local Jews—increased from 0 to 204 (177 elementary, 23 municipal; 3 *gymnasia*, 1 teacher's college).[28]

It would be an error, however, to overstate the level of Subcarpathian discontent with Czechoslovakia during the first republic. The criticism directed by Carpatho-Rusyn politicians and commentators was perhaps more a reflection of the success of the democratic process at work than it was an indication that some fundamental change, such as opting out of Czechoslovakia, was a desired alternative. In fact, subsequent events were to prove the basic loyalty of most Carpatho-Rusyns toward the Czechoslovak republic.

27 Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, pp. 202–33 passim.

28 For details on the relative presence of Czechs, Carpatho-Rusyns, and other minorities in the Subcarpathian administration, see Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 224–28.

THE MUNICH CRISIS AND THE WAR YEARS (1938–1944)

The international political crisis of 1938 that began with Hitler's demands for border revisions in order to rectify the problem of the *Volksdeutsche*—Germans living outside the Third Reich—culminated on 28 September 1938 with the signing by Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and France of the Munich Pact. This agreement had a profound impact not only upon Germans living within Czechoslovakia but also upon the status of Magyars and Carpatho-Rusyns. In fact, an annex to the Munich Pact, together with a declaration signed the same day, specified that the problems of the Magyar and Polish minorities were to be resolved within three months by Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland or a new conference of the four Munich signatories would be held to resolve this issue.[29]

Encouraged by the Munich declaration, the Hungarian government, whose interwar rhetoric was based continually on calls for border revisionism, now saw its chance. Backed especially by Italy, Budapest was able to force Czechoslovakia to the bargaining table, a process that lasted with interruptions throughout the month of October. For their part, United Magyar party activists in Czechoslovakia, János Esterházy and Géza Szüllő, established a Magyar National Council which openly demanded the "reunification" of a large part of Slovakia with Hungary.[30]

The Budapest government heightened political tension by partially mobilizing its army and by allowing irredentist bands to infiltrate the border into southern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus'. Finally, both Czechoslovakia and Hungary agreed to arbitration, which resulted in the so-called Vienna Award of 2 November 1938. Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus' together lost to Hungary 4,500 square kilometers and 972,000 inhabitants, including the important regional centers of Košice and Uzhhorod. The vast majority of Czechoslovakia's Magyars now found themselves once again within the borders of Hungary.[31] While it is true that 66,000 Magyars were left within Slovakia (2.5 percent of the total population), for all intents and purposes the Magyar question within Czechoslovakia ceased to exist for the duration of the war.

[29] The text of the Munich Pact and its annexes is reproduced in Wojatsek, *From Trianon*, pp. 205–6.

[30] For details on the Czechoslovak-Hungarian negotiations and the activity of Czechoslovakia's Magyars, see Wojatsek, *From Trianon*, pp. 151–70; and Loránt Tilkovszky, *Južné Slovensko v rokoch 1938–1945* (Bratislava, 1972), pp. 27–40.

[31] Tilkovszky, *Južné Slovensko*, pp. 48–81; and Theodore Prochazka, "The Second Republic, 1938–1939," in Mamatey and Luža, *History*, pp. 258–59.

With the transformation of Czechoslovakia into a federative republic following the Munich Pact, Subcarpathian Rus' finally was able to obtain its long promised autonomy. This was achieved through orderly negotiations between Carpatho-Rusyn parliamentary leaders and the government of the second, now federated, Czecho-Slovak republic. While it is true that the first autonomous government of Subcarpathian Rus', convened in October 1938, was initially dominated by individuals (Andrei Brodii and Stepan Fentsyk) who worked for reunion with Hungary, it was replaced on October 26 by a new government headed by the local Ukrainian-oriented activist, the Reverend Avhustyn Voloshyn (1874–1945).[32]

Like neighboring autonomous Slovakia, Subcarpathian Rus' faced the loss of its southern Magyar-inhabited regions (including the province's capital of Uzhhorod and its second largest city, Mukachevo), which were returned to Hungary by the Vienna Award of November 2. However, Carpatho-Rusyns now formed a larger percentage of the population (78 percent as opposed to the previous 63 percent), and the policy of the Voloshyn government reflected in large measure the basic pro-Czechoslovak orientation of the province's increased Slavic majority. Even though it had taken the international crisis at Munich to force Prague to grant autonomy to Carpatho-Rusyns, the Subcarpathian or, as it was soon renamed, Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomous government genuinely hoped to work on an equal basis with the Czechs and Slovaks in the truncated but federated second republic, a structure which more closely fitted earlier Carpatho-Rusyn expectations of what the first republic was supposed to have been like when it was created two decades before.

Whereas there may have been talk in German circles of making little Carpatho-Ukraine a piedmont for a future anti-Soviet Ukrainian state, and whereas local Ukrainian-oriented leaders (with help from refugees from neighboring Polish-controlled Galicia) may have been dreaming of their Subcarpathian homeland as part of an independent Ukrainian state that included land beyond the Carpathians, the local Subcarpathian population was for the most part oblivious to such schemes. It was with this in mind that the Voloshyn government prepared for elections to the province's first diet (*soim*) in February 1939. Despite the fact that there was only one party on the ticket, the autonomous government argued that the vote would be a kind of plebiscite whereby a positive result would not only indicate support for the present Carpatho-Ukrainian government but also support for the

[32] For details on the Subcarpathian/Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomous period, see Peter G. Stercho, *Diplomacy of Double Morality: Europe's Crossroads in Carpatho-Ukraine, 1919–1939* (New York, 1971), esp. pp. 107–44 and 226–83.

federative alliance with Czechs and Slovaks. It was this pro-Czecho-Slovak frame of reference that helped to produce an overwhelming majority (245,000 to 18,000) for the Ukrainian ballot.[33]

However, the Czecho-Slovak federative solution was doomed because of decisions made by Hitler in Berlin. In contrast to his treatment of the Slovaks, who were given the choice to declare their independence or be annexed by Hungary, Hitler gave no options to the Carpatho-Ukrainian government. Hungary was simply given the green light to march into Carpatho-Ukraine. Without any help from the Czechoslovak army stationed in the province, a local militia known as the Carpathian Sich, backed by the hasty but symbolic declaration of the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine on 15 March 1939, fought for three days against the invaders until they were entirely overwhelmed.[34]

For all intents and purposes, 15 March 1939 ended Subcarpathia's relationship with Czecho-Slovakia, which itself had ceased to exist. The Carpatho-Rusyn minority west of the Uzh River that numbered about 91,000 was to remain under the rule of what became a semi-independent Slovak state allied with Nazi Germany, although, as a result of subsequent border adjustments with Hungary (April 1939), their number was reduced to about 70,000.

In their new political circumstances within a Slovak state, the Carpatho-Rusyn minority became the object of suspicion because in the months after the Munich Pact their leaders had campaigned hard for unification with autonomous Subcarpathian Rus'. Now they were governed by a Slovak clerical-fascist version of national socialism, whose representatives strove to Slovakize all aspects of their territorially reduced country. Prewar Carpatho-Rusyn political organizations and publications were banned, and, although the school system was allowed to function under the leadership of the Greek Catholic Church, Slovak administrators, especially at the local level, began to emphasize that minority rights were unnecessary because, as was said, "the so-called Rusyn people in the Carpathian Basin are by origin and character Slovak."[35]

33 Stercho, *Diplomacy of Double Morality*, pp. 144–53; Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, pp. 243–44.

34 Stercho, *Diplomacy of Double Morality*, pp. 284–389.

35 From an extensive 1943 report by the wartime head of the East Slovak district, later published as Andrej Dudáš, *Rusínska otázka a jej úzadie* (Buenos Aires, 1971), p. 25. For further details, see Paul R. Magocsi, "Rusyns and the Slovak State," *Slovakia* (West Paterson, N.J.) 29 (1980–81): 39–44; and Vanat, *Narysy*, vol. 2: *Veresen' 1938 r.—liutyi 1948 r.* (1985), pp. 17–191.

FROM 1945 TO THE PRESENT

With the reestablishment of Czechoslovakia at the close of World War II, the legal status of the Magyar and Carpatho-Rusyn minorities within the reduced boundaries of the renewed state differed substantially. Yet today, after more than four decades since the end of the war, it is ironic to note that the situation of the minority that had the most difficulty in Slovakia—the Magyars—is in many ways substantially better than that of the Carpatho-Rusyns, who were ostensibly in a favorable position because of their loyalty to Czechoslovakia on the eve of and during World War II.

When hostilities ended on Czechoslovak soil in the spring of 1945 and the country was, with the exception of Subcarpathian Rus', reconstituted according to its pre-Munich boundaries, the Magyars of Slovakia were viewed in much the same way as the Sudeten Germans of Bohemia and Moravia. In short, the Magyars, like the Germans, were held collectively responsible for the destruction of Czechoslovakia in 1938–1939, and it was felt that they should be expelled en masse from the country. While forced expulsion had not necessarily been the position of Czech and Slovak politicians in exile during the war, by early 1945 the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London, the Slovak National Council (Slovenská Narodná Rada) in the homeland, and the Moscow leadership of the increasingly influential Czechoslovak Communist party all agreed on this solution.[36]

As a result, when the new Czechoslovak government was set up in Košice, its first program, dated 5 April 1945, included the following sweeping policy. Those Germans and Magyars who had fought actively against nazism and fascism would retain full rights as Czechoslovak citizens, but the remainder described as "other"—which effectively represented the vast majority—were to be dealt with under the following provision:

> Czechoslovak citizenship of other Czechoslovak citizens of German or Magyar nationality will be cancelled. Although they may again opt for Czechoslovakia, public authorities will retain the right of individual decision in the case of each application. Those Germans and Magyars who will have been prosecuted and condemned for a crime against the Republic and the Czech and Slovak people, will be declared to have forfeited their Czechoslovak citizenship and, unless they are under sentence of death, will be expelled from the Republic forever.[37]

[36] On the complicated evolution of the policy of Czechoslovak leaders in exile toward the Magyar minority question, see Purgat, *Od Trianonu po Košice*, pp. 256–93; and Kálmán Janics, *Czechoslovak Policy and the Hungarian Minority, 1945–1948*, English-language adaptation by Stephen Borsody (New York, 1982), pp. 51–100.

[37] Cited in Ludvík Němec, "Solution of the Minorities Problem," in Mamatey and Luža, *History*, p. 417.

The expulsion of the Magyar minority as envisaged by the Košice program was reaffirmed one year later (11 April 1946) by all the political parties in Czechoslovakia's National Front, which at the same time instituted another principle: that henceforth Czechoslovakia was to be a national state of Czechs and Slovaks only.

The announcement of Czechoslovak policy vis-à-vis the Magyars led in 1946 and 1947 to protracted negotiations initiated by Hungary, which attempted to block expulsion. The subject was also discussed at the Paris Peace Conference, whose treaties signed in February 1947 regulating the end of the war did not accept Czechoslovakia's desire for the expulsion of its Magyars.[38]

Despite such intervention, the practical result for the Magyar minority was hardly enviable. Those Magyars, the so-called *anyás* (literally, those pampered and tied to the motherland's apron strings), who had arrived in southern Slovakia with the Hungarian occupation forces after 2 November 1938, were expelled immediately. By 1 July 1945, this category included 32,000 people. These, together with other volunteers, totaled about 92,000 Magyars who by 1947 left for the Hungarian motherland. Another 23,000 Magyars were arrested on charges of collaboration (an accusation which included persons who committed serious crimes as well as those who may have done little more than publish a Magyar-language article during the war). Added to these were 73,000 Magyars who, on the basis of a Hungarian-Czechoslovak accord, emigrated to Hungary in 1947–1948 in return for an equal number of Slovaks who immigrated to Czechoslovakia. Finally, after the Czechoslovak desire for total expulsion was rejected at the Paris Peace Conference, the Czechoslovak government under the provisions of the "mobilization of manpower act" forced 42,000 Magyars to leave southern Slovakia between November 1947 and February 1948 to work in the depopulated Sudeten borderland regions.[39]

By 1948, therefore, as many as 206,000 Magyars had left southern Slovakia (forcibly, voluntarily, or on an exchange basis). Based on an estimated 600,000 Magyars living in Slovakia at the end of the war, there were still about 400,000 left. Although the remaining Magyars were stripped of their citizenship, Czechoslovakia was blocked by international accord from its desire to expel them.

[38] It was the United States delegation, later joined by Great Britain, which argued against including in the treaty any clause calling for the forcible removal of the Magyars from Czechoslovakia. The Soviet delegation supported Czechoslovakia's call for expulsion. Janics, *Czechoslovak Policy*, pp. 128–51.

[39] Němec, "Solution," pp. 422–25; Janics, *Czechoslovak Policy*, pp. 152–90; and Juraj Zvara, *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku po roku 1945* (Bratislava, 1969), pp. 56–73.

Another solution was to Slovakize or, as was said at the time, "re-Slovakize" a population which ostensibly represented a considerable number of originally Slovak persons who themselves or whose parents had forcibly been Magyarized during the late nineteenth century. The policy, which was initiated by the government in June 1946, was based on the following principle:

> Under the name of re-Slovakization it is necessary to understand the effort of the Slovak nation to get back that which was originally ours. . . . We are undertaking a program in which each person who feels him or herself of Slovak origin will have the possibility to choose voluntarily whether to become a Slovak with all its implications or to share the fate of a people without legal citizenship.[40]

Given the unenviable choice between becoming a Slovak and remaining stateless, it is not surprising that by December 1947 as many as 200,000 Magyars declared they were Slovak. The result was that by 1948, only 190,000 people in Slovakia claimed they were of Magyar nationality.[41]

Not only were these remaining 190,000 Magyars deprived of their citizenship, they were also deprived of cultural institutions. Angered by the decision of the Paris Peace Conference in not allowing Czechoslovakia to expel its Magyar minority, the minister of foreign affairs, Jan Masaryk, declared toward the end of the diplomatic negotiations that "Czechoslovakia would not adopt any statute on minorities, and that children of citizens of Magyar nationality who remained in Czechoslovakia will have to attend Slovak schools."[42] In fact, until 1948 there were no Magyar schools in Czechoslovakia, only 154 Magyar classes in Slovak schools attended by 5,400 students. Until 1948, there were also no Magyar newspapers, journals, or cultural organizations of any kind in Czechoslovakia.[43]

Following the Communist accession to power in February 1948, the situation of the Magyars gradually improved. It should be remembered that, until 1948, the Communists did agree with their otherwise bitter political enemies on one thing—the desirability of expelling the Magyars. However, by the time the Communists came to power, international accords had blocked the expulsion solution and the success of the re-Slovakization program (which Slovak Communist leaders had supported) had already reduced the size of the Magyar problem. Moreover, Marxist-Leninist policy frowned on national discrimination, which seemed particularly inappropriate when directed against a group that had traditionally provided a significant number of Czechoslovak Communist party leaders as well as

[40] Cited in Zvara, *Maďarská menšina*, p. 68.
[41] Zvara, *Maďarská menšina*, pp. 88–89.
[42] From a speech delivered in October 1946, cited in Zvara, *Maďarská menšina*, p. 63.
[43] Zvara, *Maďarská menšina*, p. 150.

rank-and-file members. Finally, neighboring Hungary was by then ruled by a Communist regime, and it would be inappropriate within the new postwar Soviet sphere of Eastern Europe to treat harshly a national group whose cultural homeland was now a brotherly Communist country.

All of these factors contributed to a change in Communist Czechoslovakia's policy toward its Magyars, although it is important to note that in the country's new socialist-oriented constitution of 9 May 1948 nothing was said and no provisions were made regarding national minorities. And, while the new Communist leadership condemned nationalist extremism, it did not oppose the policy of "re-Slovakization." In fact, Magyars were not mentioned as a group warranting any kind of protection until 1956, when a constitutional law indicated that the Slovak National Council had the task "to guarantee in the spirit of equality favorable conditions for the economic and cultural life of citizens of Magyar and Ukrainian nationality."[44]

In the interim, however, certain steps were taken to improve the status of the country's Magyars. In the fall of 1948, Czechoslovakian citizenship was restored to the Magyars, and those who had settled in the Sudetenland were allowed to return to southern Slovakia. One year later, Magyar elementary schools were again permitted to operate, leading to a restoration of the educational system that by the 1963/1964 school year saw 611 Magyar-language schools with 3,064 classes and 88,000 students.[45] By 1965, twenty-one Magyar-language newspapers and journals were appearing in a total printing of 295,000 copies and included the weekly and then daily *Új Szó* (New Word; 1948–present), the weekly *A Hét* (The Week; 1965–present), and the important literary and cultural quarterly and then monthly, *Irodalmi Szemle* (Literary Review; 1958–present). Book production (not including school texts and translations) averaged about seven titles a year, so that between 1949 and 1965, 117 original Magyar-language works (in a total printing of 643,000) appeared in Czechoslovakia. The existence of such publications made possible the development of a regional Magyar-language literature, for which the most important representatives were Tibor Bábi (b. 1925), Oliver Rácz (b. 1918), Viktor Egri (1898–1982), Béla Szabó (1906–1980), and most especially Zoltán Fabry (1897–1970). Other cultural developments begun after 1948 included a Magyar-language radio program (1,287 hours by 1965), the establishment

[44] From a constitutional law dated 31 July 1956, cited in Zvara, *Maď arská menšina*, p. 104.

[45] See the statistical table in Zvara, *Maď arská menšina*, p. 152.

of amateur folk ensembles (600) and theaters (300), and a regional theater in Komárno that opened in 1952.[46]

The most important cultural organization created was Csemadok, the acronym for Czehszlovakiai Magyar Dolgozak Kultúregyesülete (The Cultural Union of Hungarian Workers in Czechoslovakia). It began functioning in March 1949 from its headquarters in Bratislava and branches throughout Magyar-inhabited towns and villages. Its goal was to coordinate and promote all aspects of Magyar cultural development in Czechoslovakia, not only among members of the group but also, in a spirit of international and socialist brotherhood, among fellow Czech and Slovak citizens. The Csemadok Society was in particular called upon to fight against any remnants of "chauvinism, revisionism, and national extremism" among Czechoslovakia's Magyars.[47] In 1951, Csemadok was reorganized so that it could become a part of the Slovak National Front.

Because of the organization's close links to the Czechoslovak government during the height of the Stalinist 1950s, many Magyars considered Csemadok members "traitors," calling them "state" or "Czechified Magyars."[48] However, by 1968, with the movement for reform that accompanied the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia, Csemadok, still under its first chairman, Julius Lőrincz (b. 1910), stood in the forefront demanding improvements in the status of Magyars.[49] In March, even before the call of the Czechoslovak Communist party's Action Program (5 April 1968) to "strengthen the unity, integration, and national individuality of all nationalities,"[50] Csemadok issued a resolution based on the concept that Czechoslovakia's national minorities should henceforth be treated not only as individuals but as corporate entities. As such, they should be entitled to group autonomy, which in the case of Magyars should be instituted through the creation of predominantly Magyar districts (*okresy*), a separate Magyar representative body to speak on behalf of these districts, and a Slovak government ministry staffed by Magyar officials to deal with the Magyar minority.

[46] These figures and further details may be found in Zvara, *Maďarská menšina*, pp. 147–80. Cf. the more recent data in Bajcura, *Cesta*, pp. 195–99 and 209–13; and Juraj Zvara and Imre Dusek, eds., *A magyar nemzetiség Csehszlovákiában* (Bratislava, 1985), pp. 85–145.

[47] From the founding statute of Csemadok, dated 15 June 1949, cited in Zvara, *Maďarská menšina*, p. 181.

[48] Zvara, *Maďarská menšina*, p. 182.

[49] The following discussion of the Magyars in 1968 can be supplemented with information from Robert R. King, *Minorities under Communism: Nationalities as a Source of Tension Among Balkan Communist States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), pp. 109–23; and H. Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1976), pp. 606–10.

[50] Cited in Zvara, *Maďarská menšina*, p. 99.

In the course of 1968, Csemadok was joined by the Magyar section of the Union of Slovak writers which included further demands, such as official repudiation of the Košice government program of 1945 (stripping most Magyars of their Czechoslovak citizenship), the policy of re-Slovakization, and the postwar trials of Magyars with compensation for the victims. On the cultural front, demands were made for the creation of several new Magyar institutions.

Not surprisingly, Slovak spokespersons responded with sharp criticism of Csemadok and Czechoslovakia's Magyar press for propagating what was described as its "chauvinist" and "separatist" tendencies. Tensions rose: throughout southern Slovakia anti-Magyar slogans followed by anti-Slovak responses appeared on walls, and in some instances their appearance was accompanied by minor clashes between the two groups. Yet, in the end, Slovaks had nothing to fear because, following the Warsaw Pact intervention of August 1968 and the subsequent period of "political consolidation" that began in 1970, there have been no specific advances in the status of the Magyar minority.[51]

While in 1969 the Magyars did get a new publishing house (Madach) and their own minister without portfolio (László Dobos) in the first government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, within two years the ministerial post was abolished and Csemadok was removed from the Slovak National Front, thereby changing its status from an organization which represented the interests of the group as a whole to a unit within the Slovak Ministry of Culture. As for the school system, the high point of 1970/1971, when 83 percent of Magyar children were attending Magyar-language schools, was followed by a gradual decline that reached 73 percent in 1977/1978. These same years also witnessed an increase from 14.8 to 26.6 percent of Magyar children attending Slovak schools.[52]

The demographic picture has, however, changed dramatically (at least in terms of statistical reporting) since 1948, when a mere 190,000 inhabitants claimed their nationality as Magyar. After their Czechoslovak citizenship

[51] As part of the new constitutional law of 27 October 1968 transforming Czechoslovakia into a federal state, the Magyars, together with the Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians (Carpatho-Rusyns), were recognized as the country's four national minorities (*národnosti*), each of which comprised a corporate entity (*statotvorní činitelé*). Csemadok welcomed this new definition of minorities (as groups, not simply individuals), although it regretted that the law made no mention of their respective political, economic, and cultural equality with the Czech and Slovak nations (*národy*). The Slovak text of the 1968 federalization law is reproduced in Zvara, *Mad'arska menšina*, pp. 100–101. For its subsequent effect on the minorities, see Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 875–77; and Bajcura, *Cesta*, pp. 186–93.

[52] Gyula Dénes, "The Status of the Hungarian Minority in Slovakia and its Problems: A Reply to Milan Hubl, Czech Historian," *East European Reporter* (London), 1, no. 4 (1988): 6.

was restored (1948) and the "re-Slovakization" decree declared void (1954), Magyars began returning to their true nationality. Already by 1950 their numbers almost doubled to 355,000, and by 1970 the figure stood at 573,000. Whereas there has been a recent decline, the 1980 census figure of 560,000 still makes Magyars by far the largest national minority in Czechoslovakia.[53]

There is another important factor that has contributed to Magyar cultural and language retention as well as to self-pride—the proximity of the group to Hungary. By the 1970s, nearly every household had a television whose Magyar-language programs from Budapest could easily be received in southern Slovakia. Moreover, in the past decade, Hungary has itself come to attain a new level of respect, if not envy, in the eyes of Czechoslovakia's Slavic inhabitants. This is because of the reforms in the Hungarian economy that have provided a new prosperity and availability of western-like consumer products, sought after and now more easily obtained by Czechoslovak citizens of both Magyar and non-Magyar origin who regularly flock to Budapest and other nearby Hungarian cities on shopping sprees. Hence, the success of the Hungarian economic experiment, coupled with the impact of a Magyar-language mass media originating in Budapest, has contributed at the very least to a positive self-image and the general cultural retention of the Magyar minority in nearby Czechoslovakia.

The same four decades since the close of World War II have witnessed a marked decline in the status of the Carpatho-Rusyns. The period began with an immediate drop in their numbers, following Czechoslovakia's cession of Subcarpathian Rus' to the Soviet Union.[54] As a result, four-fifths of Carpatho-Rusyns living south of the Carpathians (an estimated 500,000 in

[53] Cf. the tables in Dénes, "Status of the Hungarian Minority," pp. 27 and 32; and in Vladimír Srb, "Demografický profil maďarské menšiny v Československu," *Český lid* (Prague), 72 (1985): 218–22. It is interesting to note that of the 560,000 Magyars listed in Slovakia in 1980, 40,000 are Gypsies who claimed Magyar nationality.

[54] The seeming last-minute decision of the Red Army to liberate by itself (without the presence of the Czechoslovak Army Corps) Subcarpathian Rus' and thus prepare the region for its "voluntary" request to be united with its "maternal homeland," Soviet Ukraine, has become the subject of extensive historiographical controversy. The basic points of view are the Soviet Russian: I.F. Evseev, *Narodnye komitety Zakarpatskoi Ukrainy—organy gosudarstvennoi vlasti (1944–1945)* (Moscow, 1954); the Soviet Ukrainian: Mykhailo V. Troian, *Toho dnia ziishlo sontse vozz"iednannia: Pershyi z"izd narodnykh komitetiv Zakarpats'koi Ukrainy* (Uzhhorod, 1979); the non-Soviet Ukrainian: Vasyl Markus, *L'Incorporation de l'Ukraine subcarpathique à l'Ukraine soviétique* (Louvain, 1956); and the Czech: František Nemec and Vladimir Moudry, *The Soviet Seizure of Subcarpathian Ruthenia* (Toronto, 1955); and Ivo Ducháček, "Jak Rudá Armáda mapovala střední Evropu: Těšínsko a Podkarpatsku," *Svědectví* (Paris, New York, and Vienna), 16 [63] (1981): 541–81.

1945) found themselves within the Transcarpathian oblast' of the Ukrainian SSR. This left approximately 100,000 others within the borders of post–World War II Czechoslovakia. These were the same Carpatho-Rusyns west of the Uzh River in Eastern Slovakia who, despite promises, were never united with the province of Subcarpathian Rus' after it joined Czechoslovakia in 1919 and who therefore functioned as a national minority in the province of Slovakia during World War II. The group had, during the interwar years, come to be known as the Carpatho-Rusyns of the Prešov Region (Priashivshchyna, or Priashivs'ka Rus'), because their religious and secular cultural center since the early nineteenth century had been the Slovak-inhabited city of Prešov.

In post–World War II Czechoslovakia, the Prešov Region Carpatho-Rusyns became a national minority separated from their brethren in neighboring Soviet Transcarpathia (old Subcarpathian Rus') by a state border, which before very long became a heavily guarded barbed-wire and watchtower barrier between villages and their inhabitants that for centuries had never been separated. As a minority, Prešov Region Carpatho-Rusyns naturally fell into that category of post–World War II problems that statesmen had hoped to resolve, whether by voluntary or forcible evacuation or by population exchange. We have seen how the Czechoslovak authorities of that time urged the expulsion of Germans and Magyars from its borders. Similarly, just north of the Carpathians, in what was southeastern Poland, Carpatho-Rusyns (known locally as Lemkos) and Ukrainians were voluntarily deported eastward to Soviet Ukraine (1945–1946) and then forcibly to other parts of western and northern Poland (1947).[55]

Therefore, in an era in which the displacement of national minorities seemed to be an acceptable policy, the Carpatho-Rusyns living in northeastern Slovakia were also encouraged to move eastward to what was described as their maternal homeland in Soviet Ukraine. In 1947–1948, over 12,000 Prešov Region Carpatho-Rusyns voluntarily went eastward as part of a population exchange that saw an approximately equal number of Czechs from Volhynia in western Ukraine (where they had lived since the eighteenth century) "return" to Bohemia and Moravia. Nonetheless, the vast majority of the approximately 100,000 Prešov Region Rusyns remained within Czechoslovakia.[56]

[55] For a discussion of population movements, including those in Czechoslovakia and neighboring countries in the context of the world-wide trend at the time, see Joseph Schechtman, *Postwar Population Transfers in Europe, 1945–1955* (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 151–79.
[56] Vanat, *Narysy*, 2: 264–66.

Unlike the other national minorities in postwar Czechoslovakia, the Carpatho-Rusyns were the only group that could not be accused of working for the break-up of the first Czechoslovak republic on the eve of and just after Munich. And, even though the new Czechoslovak regime discounted as illegal all acts that occured in Czechoslovakia after 28 September 1938, it could not be forgotten that Voloshyn's Carpatho-Ukrainian government remained loyal to the idea of a federated Czecho-Slovakia until the very end.

Pro-Czechoslovak Carpatho-Rusyn loyalty became even more evident during the war years. After the Hungarian army took over what remained of Subcarpathian Rus' in March 1939, more than 20,000 Carpatho-Rusyns who opposed the occupation remained underground until the end of the year when they fled northward and eastward to what was then Soviet-occupied East Galicia. The Soviets viewed these refugees as spies and sentenced them to labor camps, but in mid-1941, when a Czechoslovak Army Corps under General Ludvík Svoboda was formed on Soviet soil, it was discovered that there were numerous Czechoslovak citizens held in Soviet detention camps. After long negotiations they were freed, so that by the end of 1943, Carpatho-Rusyns comprised 66 percent of the 3,348 troops in the Czechoslovak Army Corps.[57]

These Carpatho-Rusyn soldiers, who fought for the restoration of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia, endeared themselves to General Svoboda, and when at the end of the war it turned out that their Subcarpathian homeland was not to become part of a restored Czechoslovakia, they were singled out in the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty of June 1945 (which confirmed the exchange of territory) as having the right to move westward within the new boundaries of Czechoslovakia. About half chose to do so, settling for the most part in Bohemia where, because of their wartime record and participation in the liberation of the country, they were given well-placed jobs in the postwar Czechoslovak military establishment and ministry of interior.[58]

As for the Prešov Region Carpatho-Rusyns who remained at home, they founded as early as 1944 an underground partisan organization known as KRASNO (Karpatorusskii Avtonomnyi Soiuz Natsional'nogo Osvobozhdeniia—Carpatho-Russian Autonomous Union for National Liberation), which fought against the "fascist" Slovak state and joined the Czechoslovak Corps and Red Army when they arrived on Czechoslovak territory.[59] Because of their loyal record toward Czechoslovakia and their desirable

57 Vanat, *Narysy*, 2: 159–78.
58 Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, pp. 252–55.
59 Vanat, *Narysy*, 2: 130–59.

leftist political orientation, these partisans, together with veterans from the Czechoslovak Army Corps who had already been members or who now joined the Communist party, were given jobs in the postwar administration of Eastern Slovakia and in the ministry of interior in Prague (especially in the Communist-controlled security organs).[60]

Although the new Czechoslovak government did not make any special provisions for the country's national minorities, the Carpatho-Rusyns were able to establish legally recognized political and cultural organizations even before the war had ended. In March 1945, a Ukrainian National Council of the Prešov Region (Ukrains'ka Narodna Rada Priashivshchyny) was set up in Prešov, proclaiming itself the legitimate representative of the Carpatho-Rusyn population. It is interesting to note that the new council, like its predecessors going back to 1918, at first called for union with their brethen in what was about to become Soviet-ruled Transcarpathia.[61] When the Soviet authorities proved unreceptive to their requests, the council's leaders argued—as their predecessors had done at the end of World War I—that the reconstituted Czechoslovakian republic should be comprised of three equal partners: Czechs, Slovaks, and Ukrainians. The platform of the Ukrainian National Council was made known to its constituents through a newly founded weekly newspaper *Priashivshchyna* (The Prešov Region; 1945–1952).[62]

During 1945–1946, Carpatho-Rusyn leaders also set up a Ukrainian National Theater, an office for Ukrainian schools, a book publishing house (as part of the Ukrainian National Council), and a youth organization (Soiuz Molodi Karpat—Union of Carpathian Youth). The school system, which had functioned more or less uninterruptedly since the interwar years, was now able to expand, so that by 1950 there were 284 schools (266 elementary, 14 municipal, 3 *gymnasia*, 1 pedagogical institute, and 1 commercial academy) operating in Carpatho-Rusyn communities.[63]

60 Among the best known Carpatho-Rusyns to rise through regional and then national political ranks was Vasyl' Bilak, who until his retirement in late 1988 was the leading pro-Soviet conservative leader in Czechoslovakia. He was not, however, a partisan or member of the Czechoslovak Army Corps, since as a young boy he had emigrated in the 1930s to Bohemia, where he remained during the war years.

61 Also in 1945, as in 1918–1919, the Lemko-Rusyns just across the border in Poland had requested to be united with their brethen south of the mountains. Their request was turned down by Czechoslovakia in 1919 and by the Soviet Union in 1945.

62 For details on the Ukrainian National Council's political demands, see Vanat, *Narysy*, 2:218–36 and 267–76.

63 Bajcura, *Cesta*, p. 201; Vanat, *Narysy*, 2:276–89.

The existence of schools as well as newspapers and a national theater inevitably led to a discussion about the national orientation of the local Carpatho-Rusyn population and its representative institutions. During the Czechoslovak years, and for that matter during the Hungarian and Slovak domination in the course of World War II, the nationality or language question (was the local population Russian, Ukrainian, or distinctly Carpatho-Rusyn?) had never been decisively resolved. In neighboring Transcarpathia, after the war the Soviet authorities simply declared the local population was Ukrainian and the matter was closed. In part, that move was based on earlier decisions of the Ukrainian Communist party (Bolshevik) in 1926. Since many of the post–World War II Prešov Region Carpatho-Rusyn leaders were Communist party members or Communist sympathizers, the Ukrainian orientation was adopted at least for the names given to the group's new organizations, such as the Ukrainian National Theater and the Office for Ukrainian Schools.

However, regardless of their names, these organizations did not use Ukrainian at all but rather Russian or the so-called Carpatho-Rusyn language (local dialect mixed with Russian and Church Slavonic). This seemingly paradoxical situation was a function of local tradition in the Prešov Region, which (in contrast to neighboring Subcarpathian Rus') never had a Ukrainian orientation. Thus, literary Russian was taught in the schools, which, moreover, the local population considered to be their own, since the terms *russkyi* (Russian) and *rus'kyi* (Rusyn) sounded virtually the same to the undiscriminating and barely educated local peasantry. The point is that whatever they were called, the Carpatho-Rusyns in early postwar Czechoslovakia had political, cultural, and educational institutions that they considered their own.

Change was on the horizon, however. Slovaks of whatever political persuasion were already displeased when in 1945 the Ukrainian National Council called for union with neighboring Transcarpathia and then for a Czechoslovak republic in which Carpatho-Rusyns would be equal to Czechs and Slovaks. Then, on the eve of the Communist ascent to power in February 1948, the Slovak National Council turned down the request of the Ukrainian National Council to become a permanent political body representing Carpatho-Rusyns/Ukrainians. The situation worsened: between 1949 and 1952, the group's recently established youth organization, publishing house, and, finally, the Ukrainian National Council itself were all liquidated on the grounds that they were all set up before the Com-

munists came to power and were therefore probably guilty of "bourgeois nationalism."[64]

In their stead, the government supplied funds to set up in 1951 a non-political and acceptably socialist organization, the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers in Czechoslovakia (Kul'turnyi Soiuz Ukrains'kykh Trudiashchykh), known by its acronym KSUT. Similar to Csemadok among the Magyars, KSUT was designed to work closely "with existing state organs" in order "to educate Ukrainian workers toward national consciousness and pride, and to instill in them the consciousness of belonging to the great Soviet Ukrainian people."[65]

Despite the liquidation of several recently established political, cultural, and educational institutions, the worst was yet to come. At the outset of the 1950s, during the height of the Stalinist period, the Carpatho-Rusyn population of Czechoslovakia was to lose the three elements that for all intents and purposes defined their very existence, namely, their religion, their land, and their national identity.[66]

Following the example in neighboring Soviet Transcarpathia, in April 1950 Czechoslovak authorities organized in Prešov a meeting of some Greek Catholic priests and laymen, who declared the union of their church with Rome (dating from the seventeenth century) null and void. The Greek Catholic Church ceased to exist legally. The nearly 75 percent of Carpatho-Rusyns who were of this religion were forced to become Orthodox, their bishops (Pavlo Goidych and Vasyl' Hopko) were sentenced to life imprisonment, and all Greek Catholic institutions, including the historically important seminary in Prešov, were closed.

As for the land, a decree abolishing private ownership struck particularly hard at the agriculturally based Carpatho-Rusyn minority. Peasants were at first encouraged voluntarily and then were forced administratively to sign over their holdings to village cooperatives. This process, known as collectivization, was particularly intense in Carpatho-Rusyn villages in 1951–1952, and by the end of the decade 63 percent of landholdings were collectivized.

Finally, in June 1952, following the complaints about the nationality question lodged by some Carpatho-Rusyn delegates to a Communist party conference held in Prešov, the authorities in Bratislava decided, again

[64] Pavel Maču, "National Assimilation: The Case of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia," *East Central Europe* (Pittsburgh), 2, no. 2 (1975): 113–14.

[65] From the founding statute of KSUT, cited in Maču, "National Assimilation," p. 114.

[66] The following discussion is based largely on Ivan Bajcura, *Ukrajinská otázka v ČSSR* (Košice, 1967), pp. 105–65.

following the Soviet model in Transcarpathia, to introduce Ukrainianization by fiat. Consequently, Russian was no longer to be used in the schools, and instead Ukrainian became the language for all subjects. Furthermore, the name "Rusyn" was not to be accepted in official documents or in census declarations. Later, in 1968, when it became possible to speak openly about many matters, one Carpatho-Rusyn summed up the early 1950s in a radio interview: "Today I am like that dumb sheep; I don't have anything. I had my own God, you took him from me. I had my own nationality, but you took it away too. I had a little piece of land, even that you took. Everything that I had you took."[67] In return for what it took away, the Czechoslovak Communist authorities did make a concerted effort to improve the cultural and educational levels of the Carpatho-Rusyn population. KSUT began to publish a Ukrainian-language weekly newspaper (*Nove zhyttia*; 1952–), a monthly magazine (*Druzhno vpered*; 1951–), a quarterly, later bi-monthly, literary journal (*Duklia*; 1953–), and original works of literature and scholarship. Fellowships were provided for young members of the local intelligentsia to study in Soviet Ukraine. Like their predecessors, Prešov Region leaders invariably identified themselves as Russians (some even denying that a separate Ukrainian people existed), but under the new conditions they had to become Ukrainian if they wished to remain teachers, editors, or retain other posts in the cultural establishment. Hence, Russian-language authors like Fedir Lazoryk (1913–1969), Vasyl' Zozuliak (b. 1909), and Ivan Matsyns'kyi (1922–1987) were among many who changed their national orientation and began to write in Ukrainian.[68]

Several other well-funded institutions were founded in rapid succession: a Ukrainian National Museum (1950); a Ukrainian Faculty and Research Institute at Šafárik University in Prešov (1953); and a professional song and dance ensemble named "Duklia" (1955), not to mention hundreds of local folk ensembles and annual festivals of folklore and culture. It seemed no amount of money was spared to provide new institutions that would give Carpatho-Rusyns a Ukrainian cultural identity in a socialist mold.

For the most part, however, the Carpatho-Rusyn masses rejected a cultural policy that was linked to the destruction of their Greek Catholic Church, the loss of their land, and the imposition of a Ukrainian identity.[69]

67 Cited in Maču, "National Assimilation," p. 108.

68 Some switched nationality allegiancies for opportunistic reasons; others did so through conviction based on intellectual evolution. For a good example of the latter, see the historical introduction to Ivan Matsyns'kyi, *Rozmova storich* (Bratislava and Prešov, 1965), pp. 13–230.

69 Bajcura, *Ukrajinská otázka*, p. 193, points out that whereas those who accepted the new orientation argued that Ukrainian was simply an older name for Carpatho-Rusyn, the "broad masses" felt that Carpatho-Rusyn and Ukrainian were two different peoples and identities.

They expressed their response in the one area where at the time they could make their voice heard—in the matter of the language to be taught in village schools. If we cannot have our own Carpatho-Rusyn schools, they argued, then it is better to have Slovak than Ukrainian ones. In 1961, when a resolution of the Czechoslovak Communist party declared that citizens had the right to choose which language their children were taught in schools, village after village where Carpatho-Rusyns lived voluntarily requested that Slovak replace Ukrainian in the local elementary school. Between 1961 and 1963 alone, parents in 160 Carpatho-Rusyn villages requested that Ukrainian-language schools become Slovak, and by 1966 there were only 68 Ukrainian-language schools left. This represented a decline of 74 percent from 1950, when Russian or Carpatho-Rusyn was taught in 266 elementary schools.[70]

Not surprisingly, with the change to Slovak schools and the lifting of other restrictions in the use of the name Carpatho-Rusyn, the statistical size of the group declined as well. Whereas in 1930, 91,000 Carpatho-Rusyns were recorded in northeastern Slovakia, by 1960, when only a Ukrainian identity was permitted, a mere 35,000 declared themselves as such.[71]

The Prague Spring of 1968 brought to the Carpatho-Rusyns, as to other national minorities in Czechoslovakia, the hope that their situation could be improved. The local intelligentsia realized that the Ukrainian cultural policy followed since 1952 was a failure, and in an attempt to stave off the rapid trend toward assimilation with the Slovaks, concrete plans were made to introduce publications, theatrical performances, and radio programs in the local Carpatho-Rusyn vernacular instead of in Ukrainian, which the masses said they could not understand. Meetings were also held with the aim of restoring a political organization to be called the National Council of Czechoslovak Rusyns or, simply, the Rusyn National Council.

As with the Magyars at the time, there were calls for administrative restructuring that would allow for a Carpatho-Rusyn autonomous territory. Newspapers (now partially in Carpatho-Rusyn) were also filled with letters from readers who demanded that they be "given back" their Carpatho-Rusyn schools taken from them during the Ukrainianization process. Finally, Greek Catholic adherents pressed the government for the legal restoration of their church, which actually took place in June 1968. The proponents of these various political and cultural measures hoped that they would restore pride in things Carpatho-Rusyn, and they began planning for the upcoming 1970 census, which might more accurately record the

70 Bajcura, *Ukrajinská otázka*, p. 159; and idem, *Cesta*, p. 201.

71 Maču, "National Assimilation," p. 105.

estimated 130,000 Rusyn-Ukrainians—as they were now being called—who actually lived in the Prešov Region.[72]

However, the Warsaw Pact intervention of 21 August 1968 and the subsequent "political consolidation" in Czechoslovakia put a stop to all such experiments. Before long, those who favored the restoration of a Carpatho-Rusyn national orientation were branded as part of the "anti-Socialist, right opportunist, and revisionist forces" that dominated KSUT and other Ukrainian organizations in 1968–1969.[73] The result was the removal of the most outspoken intellectual and party leaders (even those who favored a Ukrainian orientation), and the return to a policy of administrative Ukrainianization so reminiscent of the 1950s.

During the two decades since 1968, the status of the Carpatho-Rusyn minority in Czechoslovakia has declined further. The demands for Slovak instead of Ukrainian schools at the village level has continued, so that by 1987 there were only 23 Ukrainian-language schools left, with a mere 1,450 pupils.[74] Cultural institutions like the Ukrainian National Theater cannot attract audiences for its performances; print runs of books (generally 600 to 800) and newspapers (2,000) are minimal because of a lack of readers; and the latest census (1980) has recorded only 37,000 Ukrainians in Eastern Slovakia.[75]

Aside from the fact that the peasant masses and the intelligentsia have traditionally identified themselves as Carpatho-Rusyns (in local terminology, Rusnaks) or as Russians, since World War II there has not been any advantage for Carpatho-Rusyns to identify themselves as Ukrainians. In a Slovak environment, identity as a Ukrainian inevitably has meant association with the Soviet Union, hardly a favorable alternative in Czechoslovak society, most especially after 1968. Moreover, there has never been easy contact with neighboring Transcarpathia, closed off, like the rest of the Soviet Union, since 1945. There has not even been the possibility for linguistic and cultural reinforcement from Soviet Transcarpathia via radio or television since Czechoslovakia's Carpatho-Rusyns, when they finally obtained widespread access to such media during the 1970s, never tuned into Soviet programming—and if they did, that media would in any case be primarily in Russian, not Ukrainian. Even the Greek Catholic Church, the

72 Maču, "National Assimilation," pp. 119–24.

73 Ivan Bajcura, "Vývoj a riešenie ukrajinskej otázky v ČSSR," in Michal Čorný, ed., *Socialistickou cestou k národnostej rovnoprávnosti* (Bratislava, 1976), p. 29.

74 Speech of Mykhailo Popovych, inspector for Ukrainian schools in Eastern Slovakia, in *Nove zhyttia* (Prešov), 11 December 1987, p. 3.

75 Table in Bajcura, *Cesta*, p. 32.

only "experiment" to survive from 1968, has become during the past decade an instrument of Slovakization.[76]

Thus, while Ukrainian institutional life for the Carpatho-Rusyn minority has remained well financed by the Czechoslovak Communist government during the past four decades, the practical results of an administratively forced Ukrainian orientation combined with an unfavorable international environment and the natural assimilatory trends resulting from intermarriage with Slovaks and/or displacement to Slovak cities in search of employment are all factors that have created a situation in which the national minority, whether its members call themselves Ukrainians, Carpatho-Rusyns, Rusnaks, or Russians, is on a path of irreversible numerical decline and perhaps eventual disappearance.

CONCLUSION

Looking back on the seven decades of Czechoslovakia and its relationship to the Magyar and Carpatho-Rusyn inhabitants within its borders, it seems inevitable that the country's policy towards these two national minorities would from the outset be fraught with difficulties. This is because with one exception every Czechoslovak government, regardless of its political persuasion, has been committed to the concept of a unitary Czechoslovak state, which in practice has been dominated since 1918 by the Czechs and since 1945 by Czechs and Slovaks as the leading or "state peoples." The one exception to this approach was the second republic, whose federative structure was but a short-lived tenuous interlude that in any case was forced upon the country after September 1938 by the events of Munich. Even after Czechoslovakia was "re-federalized" in 1968, the country has remained a nation-state of Czechs and Slovaks in which the minorities are subordinate, with no possibility of functioning within the system as political groups or corporate entities.

From this perspective, it becomes clear why during the interwar years the Carpatho-Rusyns were simply refused any real autonomy, even though they were guaranteed such rights through an international treaty subsequently enshrined in the first Czechoslovak constitution. As for the Magyars, it is unlikely they would ever have been satisfied, whatever degree of self-rule they may have obtained, since their basic outlook was that the Czechoslovak "occupation" was at best to be tolerated as a temporary solution until the inevitable return of their territory to the Hungarian homeland.

[76] Paul Robert Magocsi, "Religion and Identity in the Carpathians," *Cross Currents* (Ann Arbor, Mich.), 7 (1988), esp. pp. 97–101.

With the end of World War II, the Carpatho-Rusyn minority was reduced in size by three-quarters while the Magyars, like the Germans, were to be expelled from Czechoslovakia en masse. If these expectations had been fulfilled, the country would finally have become a nation-state of Czechs and Slovaks. But the exclusion efforts and subsequent "re-Slovakization" program toward the Magyars ultimately failed. The group was numerically restored, remaining culturally strong and ethnically aware, so that with its 580,000 (official data) to 700,000 (unofficial estimate) members it is today the largest national minority in Czechoslovakia.

Entirely different tactics were used against the Carpatho-Rusyns. As a people that did not work for the break-up of Czechoslovakia on the eve of World War II and that fought at home and abroad for the restoration of the republic, the Carpatho-Rusyns became in a sense a privileged minority after 1945. Initially, they were allowed to create their own national organizations; then after the Communists came to power in 1948, Carpatho-Rusyns were showered with funds to set up a revised cultural infrastructure that was concerned with building socialism through the medium of a new national and linguistic orientation—Ukrainian. The practical result of this change was to encourage an increasing trend toward assimilation with Slovaks and the demise of the group to a mere one-quarter its potential size. The future, moreover, looks bleak, since today less than 1,500 students attend Ukrainian-language schools, a mere fraction of the group's total school population.[77]

Nonetheless, too much emphasis should not be placed on the change in nationality orientation as the only reason for the decline of Carpatho-Rusyns as a national group. As great a cause for the decline lies in the social mobility that has accompanied their improving economic status under Communist rule. The prevalence of economic backwardness in peripheral rural areas is perhaps the safest way to assure the maintenance of traditional cultures and identities. By the late 1950s, mountainous Carpatho-Rusyn villages were for the first time all connected with daily bus routes to lowland Slovak cities, making daily commuting to work, and eventually permanent settlement, possible. For instance, whereas in 1930, 89.6 percent of Carpatho-Rusyns in the Prešov Region were engaged in agriculture or

[77] Even the local Ukrainian intelligentsia sends its children to Slovak schools, an embarrassing fact brought out from time to time in the local press when it engages in a rare exercise in soul searching. Cf. "Shchob 1988 rik stav perelomnym," *Nove zhyttia*, 11 December 1987, p. 3 and "Shkodymo sami sobi," *Nove zhyttia*, 1 January 1988, p. 7.

forestry, by 1980 that figure was only 28.5 percent.[78] The result is that today Carpatho-Rusyn villages have become home to people who are in most cases sixty years and older. Young people have left and there is little need for schools, regardless of language of instruction. Carpatho-Rusyn villages are literally dying out demographically or in several instances are being destroyed to make way for seemingly more productive use, such as reservoirs.[79]

For those who began to work in the towns farther south and who eventually settled there, the setting is purely Slovak. The assimilatory linguistic and cultural environment has been encouraged further by the advent of Slovak-language radio and television, which is also widespread in Carpatho-Rusyn villages. Thus, Czechoslovakia's policy of industrialization in Eastern Slovakia has brought concrete improvements in the well-being of Carpatho-Rusyns, which in turn has contributed to undermining the group through what has become a "natural" trend toward social mobility and Slovakization.

National assimilation has, of course, been made easier by the similarity of the Slavic dialects spoken by the two peoples (East Slovak and Prešov Region Carpatho-Rusyn dialects), the similarity in religion (many East Slovaks are, like Carpatho-Rusyns, Greek Catholic), and the continuance of a traditional pattern of intermarriage, in which more often than not Slovak becomes the dominant medium in ethnically mixed households.

In contrast, it is a lack of these same factors that has worked against any significant assimilation among the Magyars. The Magyar language, with its non-Indo-European roots, is the first significant barrier against Slovakization, which is being reinforced by a Magyar-language school system that in 1980 still served over 70 percent of the group's children. Intermarriage with Slovaks is not common, and in churches (whether Catholic or Protestant) Magyar is the language of the liturgy. Finally, in the economic sphere Magyars too have shared in the general increase in Czechoslovakia's standard of living, at least through the 1970s, but in contrast to the Carpatho-Rusyn experience, socioeconomic mobility has not affected significantly their ethnicity.

Whereas there has been some Magyar out-migration in search of work, that trend has been largely tempered by the presence of sixty new factories and forty other reconstructed works established in or near Magyar-inhabited

[78] Vanat, *Narysy*, 1: 212; Bajcura, *Cesta*, p. 177.

[79] In the early 1980s, seven Carpatho-Rusyn villages in the Upper Cirocha valley were inundated to make way for a reservoir, and from time to time there has been talk of turning other parts of the Carpatho-Rusyn-inhabited lands into a state reserve.

lands in southern Slovakia. This has made it possible for Magyars to gain a livelihood outside the traditional agricultural sector without, nonetheless, having to leave a Magyar linguistic and cultural environment. Moreover, agriculture has remained a viable occupation in Magyar-inhabited southern Slovakia, so that 34.4 percent of Magyars are still engaged in that sector, a percentage that is the highest of any nationality in Czechoslovakia.[80]

It is also true that since the 1970s there has been a slight decline in the number of Magyars and in the percentage of their children attending Magyar-language schools. These trends have even prompted protests from newly established underground groups like the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Magyar Minority in Czechoslovakia, which, since its establishment in 1978, has issued appeals to civil rights groups within the country (Charter 77) and abroad.[81] Despite the recent assimilatory trends, the achievements of the 1950s and 1960s toward preserving the Magyar minority in Czechoslovakia, combined with the increased access since the 1970s to Magyar-language radio and television programs from Budapest and the traditional patterns of cultural self-maintenance (social stability, language use at home, endogamous marriages), are all factors that have worked toward sustaining group identity.

Thus, from the perspective of preserving the culture and identity of national minorities in Czechoslovakia, the Carpatho-Rusyns have had a negative experience, especially during the last three decades, despite governmental support and encouragement for what is considered their culture. On the other hand, whereas the Magyars may have suffered sometimes extreme political and administrative deprivations at the hands of Czechoslovakia after World War II, their own clear sense of self-identity, their proximity to Hungary, and the development of economic opportunities in or near their native villages are factors which have allowed them to continue functioning as a viable minority.

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80 Bajcura, *Cesta*, pp. 176–77.

81 The committee is led by a Bratislava geologist, Miklós Duray, whose essays critical of Czechoslovak policy toward its Magyars have been published abroad: *Kutyaszorító* (New York, 1983). For further details, see Stephen Borsody, ed., *The Hungarians: A Divided Nation* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 174–90.

The Dual World of Bažan's "Slipci: Poema istoryčna"

GEORGE MIHAYCHUK

To mark Mykola Bažan's seventieth birthday a four-volume edition of his poetry was published in 1974.[1] Not surprisingly, his poem "Slipci: Poema istoryčna" (The blindmen: A historical poem) was not included. "Slipci" has been published only twice in the Soviet Union.[2] It first appeared in *Žyttja i revoljucija*, 1930, nos. 7, 8-9, and 1931, nos. 1-2, 3-4, and then was included in Bažan's *Vybrani poeziji* (1932) in decimated form.[3] In the charged atmosphere of the early 1930s, it was immediately attacked for its alleged bourgeois-nationalist elements. The critic M. Dolengo, for example, viewed the absence of a positive resolution to the poem as ideological wavering:

> In M. Bažan's work there arises a sharp inner contradiction that requires a radical resolution in either one direction or the other. In the meantime we find in Bažan an ambivalent attitude toward bourgeois-nationalist ideas: the poet simultaneously rejects them and is attracted to them.[4]

In more recent times the poem has fared no better. The most prolific Bažan scholar, E. Adel'hejm,[5] mentions the poem only once in his study, *Mykola Bažan* (1965), in a passing reference to Bažan's "naturalism."[6] In the 1974 edition of his book, Adel'hejm refers to the poem for a second time in a quotation introduced from Ju. Surovcev's study *Poèzija Mikoly Bažana* (1970).[7] Adel'hejm's neglect of "Slipci" is somewhat surprising since Surovcev reinterprets the poem as anti-nationalistic and thus ideologically "correct." Surovcev writes:

1 Mykola Bažan, *Tvory v čotyr'ox tomax* (Kiev, 1974).

2 During a visit to the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in 1987, a Soviet Ukrainian delegation from the United Nations mentioned that the poem was to be published in its entirety in the near future.

3 For a discussion of the publication history of "Slipci" see B. Krawciw, Foreword to *Mykola Bažan, "Slipci: Poema istoryčna"* (Munich, 1969), pp. 6–8.

4 "В творчості М. Бажана виникає гостра внутрішня суперечливисть, потребуюча радикального розв'язання—в той або в той бік. Тим часом, у Бажана маємо подвійне ставлення до націоналістично-буржуазного комплексу: поет і відштовхується від нього і тягнеться до нього воднораз." Cited in Krawciw, p. 12. Originally in *Krytyka*, 1931, no. 4.

5 O. Ilnytzkyj, "Mykola Bažan: His Poetry and his Critics (On the Occasion of the Poet's 70th Birthday)," *Recenzija* 5, no. 2 (Spring-Summer, 1975): 20.

6 E. Adel'hejm, *Mykola Bažan*. (Kiev, 1965), p. 47.

7 E. Adel'hejm, *Mykola Bažan* (Kiev, 1974), p. 148.

Bažan boldly and, it seems to me, rightly took aim at the "nationalist symbols" (the bandurist, the Dnieper-Slavutyč, etc.). They were turned into icons, into false, one-sided, and non-historical symbols by the conservatives and the liberal-nationalist Fronde of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.[8]

A short discussion of the poem can also be found in N. V. Kostenko's *Poetyka Mykoly Bažana* where, again, the primary focus is on the poem's putatively anti-nationalistic ideology.

The "blindmen" (*slipci*) are the Ukrainian nationalists, who stir up feelings of vengeance and malice among the crowd and wail about the defense of the "sacred" while actually defending only their own "paunch."[9]

Despite finding the poem to be ideologically "correct," Kostenko and Surovcev fault Bažan with failing to portray unambiguously the victory of socialism. Kostenko writes:

For this rather clear objective, the poet unfortunately did not find an adequate form. The complex social symbolism "drowns" in the many other more or less concise forms of expression—allegory, metaphor, metonomy, which require a separate decoding, and restrain the movement of the artistic thought, making it excessively complex and difficult to understand.[10]

Surovcev expresses a similar opinion: "But Bažan was not able to separate sufficiently the iconic falsification from the other social content of those nationalist symbols."[11] The focus of their criticism centers on the conflict in the poem between the bandurist brotherhood (the nationalists in Kostenko's and Surovcev's interpretation) and the rebellious young kobzar.[12] In their view, the positive hero of the poem, the young kobzar, is not "positive" enough. Both critics offer only a selective synopsis of the plot with

8 "Бажан смело и, как мне представляется, по праву замахнулся на 'национальные символы' (кобзарь, Днепр-Славутыч и т. п.). Консерваторами и либерально-националистической фрондой XIX и начала XX веков они были превращены в иконы, в символы ложные, односторонние, неисторические." Ju. Surovcev, *Poèzija Mikoly Bažana* (Moscow, 1970), p. 122.

9 "Сліпці—це українські націоналісти, які розпалюють мсту і злобу в юрбі і голосять про 'святині,' а насправді завжди захищають тільки власне 'черево.' N. V. Kostenko, *Poetyka Mykoly Bažana* (Kiev, 1971), p. 100.

10 "Для цього досить чіткого задуму поет, на жаль, не знайшов адекватної форми. Складна соціальна символіка 'потопає' в безлічі інших більш і менш стислих іносказань—алеґорій, метафор, метонімій, які вимагають окремої розшифровки, уповільнюють хід художньої думки, роблять її надміру важкою і малозрозумілою." Kostenko, *Poetyka Mykoly Bažana*, p. 100.

11 "Но Бажан не смог достаточно ясно отделить эту иконописную фальсификацию от иного социального содержания тех же национальных символов." Surovcev, *Poèzija Mikoly Bažana*, p. 122.

12 To avoid possible confusion, I have distinguished between the two generations by calling the older generation of bandurists the bandurist brotherhood and referring to the young bandurist as the young kobzar, although the young kobzar is also a bandurist.

occasional passing comments about some of the poem's formal features, i.e., the naturalistic metaphors and the graphic arrangement of the lines. They do not, however, discuss the implications of this conflict for the poem.

Surovcev contends that the absence of a resolution to the conflict is due to the loss of part III: "As the author told me, the continuation of the poem was lost during the war."[13] There are, however, several other compelling reasons for the absence of a resolution to the conflict. The poem presents the generational conflict between the young kobzar and the bandurist brotherhood. The conflict between the two generations is so clearly drawn in part I that, initially, one can speak of a binary opposition. In part II the young kobzar's disillusionment with the brotherhood, however, is put into question. The conflict evolves into a dialectic that forms the underlying formal structure of the poem and has thematic repercussions as well, particularly for the historical theme so central to the poem.

The conflict between the brotherhood and the young kobzar is developed in part I. The moment of crisis for the young kobzar occurs during the initiation ceremony ("отклинщини") into the brotherhood, a ceremony suffused with religious associations. The ceremony begins with a spokesman for the brotherhood solemnly expounding their articles of faith:

devotion:

Незрушних законів і вірних пісень
Від посвячених требує кобза! . . . (I, 9)[14]

(Immutable laws and devoted songs / demands the kobza of the consecrated!)

proficiency:

Братчику чесний козацьких сліпців!
Чи слухняного й вірного джуру
В три лади настроювать кобзу навчив,

[13] "Продолжение поэмы, как рассказывал мне автор, было потеряно в годы войны." Surovcev, *Poèzija Mikoly Bažana*, p. 121. Bažan appears to have planned to write (or had already written) a part III to the poem as his footnote in part II indicates (see footnote 35 in the text as given in *Sučasnist'*, 1969, no. 11, p. 19). It is not clear when Bažan might have written part III, but it did not appear in print perhaps because of the hostile political climate of the 1930s and the pressure he came under because of his association with Xvyl'ovyj's circle VAPLITE. See George Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine* (Freeport N.Y., 1971), pp. 61, 89–91, 123–24. Also see *Mykola Bažan, "Slipci: Poema istoryčna,"* foreword by B. Krawciw, pp. 8–17.

[14] All page references are to the version appearing in *Sučasnist'*, 1969, no. 10, pp. 5–19 and no. 11, pp. 5–22, which is a faithful copy of the poem as it appeared in *Žyttja i revoljucija*, 1930, nos. 7, 8-9 and 1931, nos. 1-2, 3-4.

І ліру, й торбана, й бандуру.
В три лади, в три строї, на три голоси,
що кожен із них—
стоголосий,
В три лади, що названі в давні часи
Бандуристський, скрипошний та косий. (I, 9)

(Honest brother of Cossack blindmen! / Did you teach an obedient and devoted apprentice / To tune in three scales / The lyre, and the torban, and the bandura. / In three scales, in three keys, and for three voices, / So that each of them—/ a hundred-voiced, / In three scales, that in olden times were called / the bandura, the merry, and the uneven)[15]

humility:

Не князівської пишної прагни тропи,
Вищий над князі підніжок!
Гидуй пишнотою, й достойно ступи
На сліпецький достойний обніжок.
На людських дорогах и тропах сиди,
прийнявши посвяченість чорну.
І кобзу прохожим під ноги клади,
Як голову мудру й покорну. (I, 11)

(Strive not for a princely luxurious path, / You who are above princes! / Loath with pride, and worthily step / Upon the blindman's worthy pedestal. / Sit upon the populated roads and paths, / Having accepted this black consecration. / And lay your kobza at the feet of the passers-by, / Like a wise and humble head.)

Having arrived prepared to endure the trials of his calling, "Наважився на все... І на зганьблення теж" ("I am prepared to endure everything... Even insults"; I, 8), the young kobzar is genuinely moved by the old bandurist's expounding of the faith and by his command, "Незрячий водію/ вдивлясь и веди/ Юрби, за тебе сліпіші!" ("Blind guide / Look and lead / Crowds blinder than you!"), and replies with feeling, "Я чую вас, юрби сліпі й навісні,/ Я чую вас герці і учти!" ("I hear you, crowds blind and mad / I hear you, skirmishers and revelers!"; I, 11). But he is completely unprepared for the startling revelations and disgusting feast that follows,

[15] The three scales mentioned here are given in folk terms. The first one mentioned (бандуристський) refers to the scale developed by a famous bandurist, Lebij; the second (скрипошний) to a scale for gay, merry music; and the third (косий) refers to an "uneven" scale in which the seventh of a major scale is lowered, also called the Міксолідійський.

and by the close of the ceremony he unequivocally denounces the brotherhood for their degenerate behavior and moral turpitude. The young kobzar's protest is most pointed at the close of part I, when he issues his own credo (also expressed in religious imagery) glorifying rebellion while condemning the brotherhood for its passivity and subservience:

> У ваші пророцтва й дороги не вірую!
> Убийте! Розіпніть!
> Не вірую я в "Отче наш" і "Вірую,"
> В рабську покору століть!
> Вірую—
>   не кобзою,
>   вірую—не лірою,
> Вірую—
>   полум'я серця і гнів
> Моєю непишною буде офірою
> Для смердів,
>   для хлопів,
>   для храпаків! (I, 18)

> (In your prophecies and roads I do not believe! / Kill me! Crucify me! / I do not believe in "Our Father" and "I Believe," / In the slave's obedience of centuries / I believe—/ not with the kobza, / I believe not with the lyre, / I believe—/ the flame of the heart and anger / Will be my unembellished offering / For the serfs, / for the peasants, / for the dirty laborers)

His accusation of passivity is given credence in part II. There Bažan depicts an old bandurist discoursing on stasis ("нерухомість") and its semantic variant, tranquility ("спокій"):

> Утишились рухи земні,
>   а натомість
> Схвильованим мислям являє свій вид
> Єдина справдешня, німа нерухомість,
> Ця істина світу,
>   цей істиний світ.
> Всі рухи безкрайности прагнуть завершень
> І, взявшися тільки,
>   в собі вже несуть
> Передвічний непорух— останнє і перше
> Начало всіх рухів, їх міру і суть. (II, 18)

> (The earthly movements have died down, / and in its place / To worried thoughts it shows its face / The one true and mute stasis / This truth of the world, / this true world. / All motions of infinity strive for completion / And, from their very incipience / they carry within themselves / Eternal motionlessness—the first and the final / Beginning of all motions, their measure and essence.)

Several intricate clusters of images associating the brotherhood with aspects of stasis already appear in part I. The images of dead water, the grave, and the color black create a semantic field within the poem suggesting stagnation and damnation. The image of dead water first appears in a lengthy monologue by one of the bandurists at the initiation ceremony. He refers to music as "пісенний трунок" ("a drink of song") and develops this image into "проклята отрута, проклята вода, вода як руда" ("cursed poison, cursed water, water like ore") and then into "мертва вода вовкулацька" ("dead, werewolf's water"; I, 10).[16] Not only is the water called "dead" but it is confined—within the strings of the bandura, "Проклята вода, / В струну, як в броню закута" ("Cursed water / encased in the string like in armor") or within a well where in its stagnant state it is compared to a blind eye whose surface reflects all that goes on:

> Всі води країни,
> всі тіні віків
> Ховає в безодню неситу
> Око роззявлене сліпаків,
> Всевберущий колодязь світу. . . . (I, 11)
>
> (All the waters of the land, / all the shadows of the ages / It hides in an insatiable abyss / The gaping eye of the blindmen, / This all-absorbing well of the world. . . .)

Thus the well becomes a metaphor for the eyes of the blind bandurists that through a concatenation of images associates them with death and, by extension, with stasis.

The same nexus of images—dead water, the well, blackness—appears in the speech of the young kobzar when he denounces the brotherhood for its passivity (I, 18). But in part II he goes one step further and reverses the value of these same images by giving them a positive interpretation. Instead of being stagnant, water is presented as a powerful, dynamic force breaking through the walls that confine it, "Чи може, вже води могутніші й

[16] The word "вовкулацька" suggests that the brotherhood is cursed and occupies a marginal position outside normal society.

дужчі гримлять об пороги мужицьких твердинь" ("Or perhaps waters mightier and more powerful thunder against the thresholds of peasant fortresses"; II, 13). The grave, too, is given a positive value by the young kobzar. It is no longer the coffin ("домовина") for the dead but a source of life, "А може могили—колиски живого,/ Де б'ється в тривозі живе немовля?/ А, може, в минулім прийдешнє, діяволе?!" ("And perhaps graves are the cradles of the living / Where a living babe struggles in alarm / And perhaps the future lies in the past, you devil?!"; II, 21).

The grave as a positive image in the young kobzar's eyes is introduced in part I, where it not only symbolizes the past but is linked to the future as well. It reflects the conflict between the two generations, their relationship to the past (particularly their role in preserving the memory of the past), and their view of the future. The brotherhood no longer celebrates the Cossack struggles of the past in their songs. Instead, it celebrates the present state of affairs. The old bandurist in his monologue on the benefits of the sedentary, tranquil (agricultural) life now enjoyed by the former Cossacks states this point very clearly, "Та мовлю, вмираючи, благословен більший над чвари козацький хосен" ("And I say, dying, blessed be the Cossack's profit more than the squabbles"; II, 17). In the eyes of the young kobzar, however, these former Cossacks are to be condemned for destroying the reminders of the past for the sake of profit (II, 15–16). He sees himself as a carrier of tradition, preserving the memory of the past which he views with reverence, "Сиділи діди, хай онуки сидять / На Савурі, / на славній могилі!" ("The forefathers sat, and may the grandsons sit also / Upon Savur / upon the glorious sepulchral mound!"; I, 8).[17]

It is significant that in the previous line no mention of the fathers is made. When the young kobzar accuses the old bandurists of betraying the tradition he again resorts to kinship terms that correspond to the past, the present, and the future: "І дід в онуці не впізнає сина/ Бо й сина був не упізнав колись" ("And the grandfather will not recognize the son in the grandson/ For he once did not recognize his son"; II, 20). The young kobzar proclaims that the earlier generation of bandurists, the grandfathers, who sang of the glorious Cossack past, would not recognize their degenerate progeny (the old bandurists of the present) because they have disrupted continuity by failing to preserve the memory of the past. They sing of fairs, trade, and the sedentary, agricultural life while allowing the past to remain buried. Nor would the grandfathers be able to recognize the fathers in the grandsons (the young kobzar's generation) because the new

[17] Savur (Savur-mohyla) is a fictional Cossack sepulchral mound and is often mentioned in dumy, for example, in the well-known "The Escape of Three Brothers from Azov."

generation refuses to follow along the path taken by the fathers (the brotherhood).

Although the young kobzar and the brotherhood seem to sing the praises of diametrically opposed worlds, what appears on the surface as a simple binary opposition expressed by images of stasis and dynamism acquires a rich ambivalence that suffuses the poem. The ambivalence is achieved by several means. One of the more obvious formal features is the ongoing discourse, sustained throughout the poem, between the two parties. The discourse of voices cannot be taken at face value, however. The extensive use of irony and the rhetorical mode in the poem put statements made by the brotherhood into question. This is particularly evident at the initiation ceremony. Perebendja's opening remarks—his warning about the trials and hardships of the bandurist's calling—are a function of the ceremony rather than an indication of personal interest in the young kobzar. Similarly, when he begins expounding upon the articles of faith, his introductory remarks are applicable to every and any adept and are not directed specifically to the young kobzar, whom he ironically addresses as "пан отче" ("Father"). The articles of faith are presented with a fervor that one might expect the other bandurists to share, but this assumption is dispelled for the reader when one of the company sarcastically asks, "Тягти теревені ці доки?!" ("How long is this nonsense going to continue?!"; I, 12). And during the disgusting feast that follows the ceremony, Perebendja facilely replies to the young kobzar's scathing charges of betrayal of the bandurist's sacred calling: "Сором видющим лишає Господь; / Сліпі,—отже й сраму не бачим!" ("God leaves shame for those with sight / We are blind and so do not see shame!"; I, 15).

A similar tension can be found in the "prayers" spoken by the brotherhood. While their mock prayer (I, 3) is a profanation of the Lord's Prayer, it retains the function of a prayer. The same is true of their treating whiskey and meat as the Eucharist. While denying its Christian religious value, they do not negate its "sacred" value within their own peculiar faith. In this sense, the brotherhood can be said both to deny and assert the sacred.

The notion of simultaneously denying and asserting is most obviously evident in the numerous oxymorons found throughout the poem. There are many references to the literary topos of the blind seer: "незрячий водію" ("blind guide"; I, 11), "у всевидущій сліпості" ("in all-seeing blindness"; I, 11), "незрячий а бачу" ("blind but I see"; II, 18), and "пішов придивлятись до світу безокий... сліпий" ("I set out to gaze upon the world eyeless... blind"; II, 14). And oxymorons can be found in the words of nearly all the figures in the poem. The young kobzar speaks of "тяжку

невідрадну оту благодать" ("that heavy, joyless blessing"; I, 7), and "трупи кричать по дорогах" ("corpses cry out along the roads"; I, 14); the narrator admonishes the young kobzar, "зруш тишини громової колони" ("push aside the thunderous column of silence"; I, 12); the old bandurist speaks of the bandurist's calling as "страшної тієї води—/ прикраса сліпецтва" ("that terrible water—/the ornament of blindness"; I, 11); and the old bandurist in part II states, "Всі рухи безкрайности... в собі вже несуть передвічний непорух" ("All movements of infinity... already carry within themselves eternal motionlessness"; II, 18).

A similar ambivalence is achieved when a previously given image or statement is assigned the opposite value. As noted above, when the brotherhood and the young kobzar use the same image, the image acquires validity in both contexts. For the young kobzar fire is associated with rebellion and struggle while the old bandurist associates fire with tranquility: "Вогні нічлігу, спокою" ("The fires of evening camps, of tranquility"; II, 19). Even the young kobzar's retort, "огні ваші гаснуть" ("your fires are dying out"; I, 14) to Perebendja's statement, "огні невмирущі і мертві" ("fires undying and dead"), does not invalidate Perebendja's words. At the ceremony the old bandurist speaks of the well as "криниці, як сурми" ("wells like glorious trumpets"; I, 14), while the narrator downgrades this same image by referring to the mouth as "Сурма товста живота" ("the fat trumpet of the stomach"; I, 12). It might seem that the ambivalence arises solely from the opposing positions taken by the young kobzar and the brotherhood. But even for one and the same character an object may possess two conflicting values. In part I the young kobzar mocks the knife carried by the bandurists as "свячений—у свинячій печені" ("consecrated—in a pig's liver"; I, 15) while later respectfully admitting to the old bandurist in part II that "посвячений ніж... твій статок" ("the consecrated knife... is your prosperity"; II, 13). This vacillation allows an object or image to have several, even contradictory, meanings, none of which can be dismissed.

The tendency to balance the initial value assigned an image (positive or negative) with its opposite is found throughout the poem. Even the characters in the poem can be viewed in terms of this pattern, showing first one side of their nature and then its opposite. In part I the brotherhood is depicted as degenerate while in part II there is a sympathetic portrayal of the old bandurist. In part I the young kobzar denounces them while in part II he expresses his reverence for the old bandurist. In part I, at the beginning of the ceremony, the young kobzar expresses his willingness to accept abuse and the beggar's role required of the bandurist's calling, yet in part II he delivers a powerful tirade against the passivity and suffering demanded by their calling. The portrayal of the old bandurist follows the same

pattern. At the beginning of part II he states how dear his guide is to him, but ends up driving him away with his verbal abuse. And initially the old bandurist in part II is portrayed as a sly, selfish figure singing drinking songs to please a wealthy peasant and earn a few coppers; only later is it stated that at one time he, too, sang of the Cossack past.

Ambivalence is also created by the brotherhood being a secret society. They are referred to as "пісенности пильна сторожа" ("diligent guardians of song"; I, 7); theirs is the "лебеїв потайного ремества" ("the bandurist's secret trade"; I, 9); they have a secret language;[18] they punish disobedience with death: "Ми києм караєм ослух" ("We punish disobedience with the cudgel"; I, 9); and their gathering place is referred to as "кобзарського тайного логва" ("the bandurist's secret lair"; I, 7). The essence of their knowledge is not directly revealed to the young kobzar or to the reader, although some of their dark secrets are disclosed during the initiation ceremony and, as Perebendja admits, they are horrifying:

Слухай, кобзарю,
жахайсь і мовчи,
І тайни почуєш многі:
На всіх перехрестях лежать лірачі
А зводяться тут лиш на ноги!
То ж м'ясо жіноче й волов'яче—
нам!
Голод і пісня—
для бидла! (I, 14)

(Listen, O kobzar, / be horrified and keep silent, / And many secrets will you hear: / At all crossroads players are lying about / And only here do they rise up on their feet! / So women's meat and beef— / for us! / Hunger and song— / for the swine!)

A similar warning is issued in part II by the old bandurist to his guide who wishes to become a bandurist someday:

Рушаємо в мандри удвох?
Тремтиш і лякаєшся, хлопче?
Зважай,
бо доскочеш таїн багатьох
Як серце, мов лапоть, протопчеш...
Мій сину проклятий! (II, 8)

[18] Bažan even inserted a line of the bandurists' secret language into the poem and provided a translation in a footnote. See II, 16.

(Shall we set out together? / You tremble and are frightened, boy? / Weigh carefully, / because you will attain many secrets / Like the heart, that like a bast shoe, you'll wear out. . . . / My cursed son!)

Bažan presents the young kobzar confronting similar doubts. His idealistic notions about the bandurist's calling were shaken at the initiation ceremony, and he is portrayed expressing doubts about the purpose of his calling: "Ти відаєш, діду,— / є всякі тверджі, / А сумнів, певне, найбільша з твердж/. . . / легко зломити голову— / важко зломити сумнів" ("You see, old man,— / there are all kinds of fortresses, / And doubt is probably the greatest fortress / . . . / It's easy to break one's head—but it's difficult to break one's doubts"; II, 14). Nonetheless, he continues his search for reaffirmation of the bandurist's purpose. The need to penetrate the secrets of the faith, to understand his role, is the motivating force behind the questions he poses to the old bandurist at the fair. He readily acknowledges the old man's wisdom and his wider range of experience and admits that he is but a novice. In the hope of assuaging his doubts he addresses four questions to the old bandurist:

Діду! Скажи—чи дороги оті,
Замучивши згагою душі,
виводять
Співців та їх вірних в ясний вертоград?
Чи певність та звагу,
чи просто—байстрят
Блукаючи світом, бандурники плодять?
Чи всохла остання крапля води
В бандурній, лункій та сухій шкаралущі?
Чи, може, вже води могутніші й дужчі
Гримлять об пороги мужицьких твердинь?! (II, 13)

(Old man! Tell me—do these roads / Having worn out the soul with thirst, / lead / Bards and their followers into clear vineyards. / Is certainty and courage, / or merely—bastards / Wandering in the world, all that bandurists breed? / Has the last drop of water dried up / In the bandura's resonant and dry shell? / Or maybe waters mightier and more powerful / Thunder at the door of the peasants' fortresses?!)

But the old bandurist remains silent. The young kobzar then lashes out in anger, assailing the old bandurist with further accusations:

Скажи,
що пророчі сліпці—
Махлярі й горлаї ярмаркові,

Скажи,
що козацький співець—
кумедний тепер скоромох... (II, 15)

(Say, / That the prophetic blindmen—/ Are swindlers and hawkers, / Say, / that the Cossack bard—/ is now a comic actor...)

This moment of confrontation is the crucial point in the poem because it focuses on two of the critical issues raised earlier: what is the role of the bandurist, and what is the meaning of the Cossack past? Instead of direct answers to the questions raised by the young kobzar, however, Bažan introduces a passage in which the old bandurist reminisces about his years as a guide wandering with his bandurist master through various Cossack settlements and witnessing the fall of the Zaporozhian Sich (1775). In a passage rich in ambivalence, the old bandurist speaks about the past, again, in terms of opposites: "Великий мій Луже/ дикий мій Луже" ("My Great Meadow, / My unruly Meadow"; II, 16),[19] "Коли величався у Глухові Розум, / Оте нерозумне й бучне гетьманя" ("When in Hluxiv Rozum was honored/ That unwise and noisy hetmanship"; II, 16).[20] His comments indirectly reveal his mixed feelings of anger and sympathy toward the Cossacks, but no elaboration follows. Just when it appears that the old bandurist will offer an assessment of the past, he stops short: "Сьогодні ж... Наслухався добре... мовчи" ("Today... enough said... keep quiet"; II, 17). Thus no crucial secrets are directly revealed to the young kobzar.

The old bandurist then delivers a paen to the present which he depicts in scenes of pastoral tranquility, a tranquility that he feels will serve as a balm to the tumultuous past. However, even this point remains questionable; the passage concludes with the unanswered and sarcastic question, "хіба ярмарки / не чесніші за підступи й зради воєнні?" ("are not fairs more honest than the scheming and betrayals of war?"; II, 18).

In the passage that immediately follows, the old bandurist offers his vision to the young kobzar, a vision expressing the truths about life that he has culled from his personal experience. Speaking in praise of stasis ("нерухомість"), he compares it to the stillness that follows the vibrating sound of a string of a musical instrument as it dies out, and links this stillness to the attainment of wisdom.

[19] The reference to "Great Meadow" is to the Cossack main encampment on the Dnieper.

[20] Rozum here is a reference to Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovs'kyj, elected hetman in 1750 in Hluxiv with the approval of the Russian empress Elizabeth. His reign as hetman ended with his resignation in 1764 as Catherine II brought the Hetmanate under her control. See Zenon E. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: The Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 75–103.

Бо рух—
          як струна, що, найвищим тремтінням
Пройнявшись,
               не зносить його й застига.
Так мудрість приходить,
                    знаючість нага,
Народжена безуму лютим кипінням.
Так думка, що в льоті нестерпнім
                         шаліє,
Стає, досягаючи мудрости. (II, 18)

(For motion—/ like a string that with the most intense trembling/ Filled/ cannot stand it and dies down./ So wisdom comes,/ naked knowledge,/ born by the fierce seething of madness./ Thus the thought, which in unbearable flight,/ raves,/ stops, having attained wisdom.)

He then offers descriptions of tranquil scenes from everyday life as examples of the beneficial peace that followed the tumultuous past. Once again, however, these pastoral scenes are not without their negative side. The old bandurist admits that the tranquil life of the present was purchased at a price:

Я бачу—
          сіяє огнем супокою й труда
Козацька гуральня,
               чумацька ночівля,
Чабанський нічліг, де шумить череда.
Оце переможна й велебна торгівля
Стяги побідні свої викида!
Спокійний спочинок, досягнення борзі
Достойному торжище людське дає
Аби не забув про козацтво своє
Козак, стоючи на вселюдському торзі,
Хоч він і потрапив у владний полон
Орлових рублів та схизматських корон (II, 19)

(I see—/ glowing with the fire of tranquility and labor/ The Cossack distillery,/ the salt gatherer's encampment,/ The herdsman's evening camp where the herd is rustling./ This is trade victorious and imposing/ Flying its victorious banners!/ Tranquil rest and the attainment of credit/ Human trade gives the worthy,/ May he not forget about his Cossack past/ This Cossack, standing at the universal trade

market, / Although he has fallen into the mighty prison / Of rubles and schismatic crowns)

And he appears to argue that the Ukrainian Cossacks have done well for themselves. As proof he cites four historical figures—Kapnist, Poletyka, Kočubej, and Revuxa—who held prominent positions in society and government: "В Петербурґах, Варшавах сидять одуковані / Козацькі краяни, кість наших кісток" ("In the Petersburgs and Warsaws they sit, learned / Cossack brethren, bone of our bones"). In view of these successes, he reproaches himself for always bemoaning the fate of the Sich and the Cossack past: "А ти репетуєш—забуті, заплівовані!" ("And here you are wailing—they are forgotten, spat upon!").

His praise is no less ambivalent, however. On the one hand, there appears to be some bitterness in the old bandurist's words, "А те що я... Не доскочив! / Вже доля така!" ("And the fact that I... Didn't make it! / That's fate!"), suggesting that the praise is ironically intended. It raises a veiled accusation against the former Cossack nobility ("старшина") for being opportunistic and for neglecting the rank-and-file Cossacks, most of whom were eventually forced into serfdom.[21] On the other hand, the very selection of these four historical figures suggests other possibilities. While all were noblemen of high standing, they were far from being court lackeys or opportunists. Kapnist, assuming that Bažan is referring to the poet V. V. Kapnist (1756–1823), was a patriotic Ukrainian nobleman who undertook a secret mission to the Prussians in April 1791 to seek military aid for Ukrainian autonomist hopes and who spoke out against serfdom.[22] In the case of Poletyka there were several prominent family members who were staunch supporters of Ukrainian autonomy. Hryhorij Poletyka was "an adamant opponent of the introduction of Russian imperial practices into the Hetmanate" and led the unsuccessful struggle against the eradication of the rights and privileges of the Ukrainian nobility in the general assembly in St. Petersburg.[23] A. A. Poletyka (1739/41–1798) also staunchly supported Ukrainian autonomist hopes. As Ohloblyn notes: "At that time (1785–1787), this was the brilliant trio of Marshalls of the Provinces [губерніяльні маршали] of Left-Bank Ukraine: Marshall of Novhorod Sivers'kyj—Opanas Lobysevyč, Marshall of Kiev—Vasyl' Kapnist, and of Černihiv—Andrij Poletyka, who was every bit the equal of his

[21] For a discussion of the fate of Cossack nobles and rank-and-file Cossacks, see Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 191–94, 237–45, 277–85.
[22] Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 264–66. Also see O. Ohloblyn, *Ljudy staroji Ukrajiny* (Munich, 1959), p. 91.
[23] Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 179–87.

colleagues."[24] V. Kočubej (1768–1834) was of Cossack nobility and served under Alexander I as a minister dealing with foreign affairs, educational reform, and efforts to improve the lot of serfs. Revuxa (1785–1831) was a Polish magnate (Wacław Rzewuski) who as a Cossacophile established a Cossack camp ("табір") complete with bandurists on his estate at Savran in Podilia (Western Ukraine). He was killed near Dašiv fighting against the Russians in the Polish uprising of 1831. Thus while the old bandurist speaks out in praise of tranquility, he mentions persons associated with the period of struggle for freedom, for Cossack rights, and Ukrainian autonomy.[25]

The historical period being referred to by Bažan extends approximately from the 1750s to the early nineteenth century.[26] It was a period which saw the gradual demise of Ukrainian autonomy. After a somewhat auspicious beginning under Elizabeth, who revived the Hetmanate, Ukrainian autonomy was gradually eliminated under Catherine II, who had the Zaporozhian Sich destroyed in 1775 and the Hetmanate dissolved by 1786. This period was also marked by social unrest. In Right-Bank Ukraine, the Ukrainian population rose up against the Polish nobles in the hajdamak revolts of 1750 and 1768. The latter revolt was put down by Russian troops, who feared the restoration of Cossack power on the Right Bank. There were numerous riots at the Sich (1756–57, 1768–69, 1770–72, and 1773) between parties competing for power and between the Cossack leadership and the rank-and-file. The effects of class stratification in Ukrainian society were further intensified after Catherine promulgated an imperial decree ("Жалованная грамота," 1785) granting Cossack nobility the same rights enjoyed by Russian nobility. With the absorption of Ukrainian elites into the imperial system and much of the population forced into serfdom, Ukrainian autonomist hopes were effectively contained.

In treating this historical period Bažan presents the rebellions as a struggle for freedom and underlines their social dimensions. This is particularly apparent in his short poem "Zaliznjak's Night" ("Залізнякова ніч," 1927) about the hajdamak uprising against the Polish szlachta, a poem which was

24 Ohloblyn, *Ljudy staroji Ukrajiny*, p. 125.

25 It cannot be proved that Bažan knew of Kapnist's mission, but the mention of Poletyka and especially Revuxa, who was to figure in part III, indicates clearly enough that these figures were not intended to represent court lackeys.

26 The time frame of the poem can be established by referring to the old bandurist's visit to Hluxiv when Rozumovs'kyj was hetman (Rozumovs'kyj was elected hetman in 1750) and to the prominent figures he mentions—Kapnist, Poletyka, Kočubej, and Revuxa.

undoubtedly influenced by Ševčenko's "The Hajdamaks" ("Гайдамаки," 1841) as was "Slipci."[27] The hajdamak uprising of 1768, the so-called Kolijivščyna, is depicted by Ševčenko as an uprising of the Ukrainian people against the Polish landowners (*szlachta*), as a class struggle (peasants against landlords), a religious struggle (Orthodoxy against Catholicism), and as a national struggle of liberation (Ukrainians against Poles). In the epilogue the poet laments the destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich (1775) and the deaths of the leaders of the uprising, Honta and Zaliznjak. He also expresses his bitterness that the uprising bore no fruit. But, as Grabowicz has argued, while "The Hajdamaks" is a poem that has a historical event as its focus, it is largely a meditative or reflective work on the Ukrainian past, "[on] the decline and fall of a formerly free existence."[28] At issue is not the extent of Ševčenko's influence but the similar interpretations of this period as the demise of Ukrainian autonomy, as the loss of freedom for most of the population, and the importance of this for both poems. "Slipci," like "The Hajdamaks," is not a study of the historical causes of this process, but through the figures of the old bandurist and the young kobzar two very different interpretations of the past are offered.

The interpretation of these historical events and their consequences is the basis for the conflict between the young kobzar and the old bandurist. Despite the old bandurist's praise for the present, he expresses sympathy for the Cossack past, evident, among other things, in his description of the grief of the last otaman of the Sich, Petro Kalnyševs'kyj.[29] As a witness to the disastrous consequences of the 1768 uprising and the destruction of the Sich, the old bandurist expresses his regret that internal dissension among the Cossacks left them divided, weak, and easily subjugated. His regret is also reflected in the ironic praise of the present agricultural life, and conceals an unstated understanding of the reasons for the demise of Ukrainian autonomy. The young kobzar, on the other hand, did not directly experience the events of the past, with their internal strife and bloodshed, and conceives of the past in romantic and idealized terms. He argues for the

[27] Bažan read Ševčenko extensively and, according to Surovcev, as a young man of sixteen he attended a dramatization of "Hajdamaky" staged by Kyjdramteatr under the direction of Les' Kurbas in Uman', the very site of the bloody destruction described in Ševčenko's poem. See Surovcev, *Poèzija Mikoly Bažana*, p. 7.

[28] George Grabowicz, *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Ševčenko*, (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 24–25.

[29] His lament for the fall of the Sich and his comment on Kalnyš appear on II, 16. As otaman, Kalnyševs'kyj (Kalnyš in the poem) unsuccessfully struggled to regain former Zaporozhian rights and territories. He was eventually exiled by Catherine to the Solovki Islands.

overthrow of the nobility and champions the rights of the peasants and not of the well-to-do former Cossacks.

Their conflicting views of the bandurist's role and the past are reflected by their opposing attitudes toward the populace. The young kobzar is disenchanted with the present materialistic society (represented by the wealthy peasant in part II) that is satisfied with a life of creature comforts. Hence, he condemns peaceful everyday life and passivity. While he is not certain what his role as a bandurist should be, he is concerned that future generations may accuse him of indifference to their suffering:

Бо прийде час новий, і прийде люд новий
Що в творчій та чудній зненависті своїй
Назве мене—підніжок і заблуда,
А, може, скаже ще—сліпий і тощий скній.
Що людям відповім?
Що темні й упокорені
Були супутники моїх блуденних літ? (II, 20)

(Because a new time will come, and a new people will come / Who in their creative and wonderous hatred / Will call me a lackey and a lost wanderer / And perhaps will add, a blind and gaunt wasteling. / What shall I answer people? / That ignorant and submissive / Were the fellow travelers of my prodigal years?)

The young kobzar's credo, cited earlier, expresses his concern for those oppressed and suffering and introduces a political and social dimension to the conflict between him and the brotherhood. In the young kobzar's eyes the past was a period of struggle, a time when the populace refused to accept the status quo and rose up against the oppressors. However, as Bažan makes clear, the young kobzar is unaware of the conflicts, squabbles, and internal dissension among the Cossacks. His inability to grasp the significance of the old bandurist's story leaves him ignorant of the specific reasons for the demise of the Hetmanate and Ukrainian autonomy. As a result the young kobzar displaces the past from its historical context and shifts it to a symbolic plane.[30] From his point of view the rebellion represents a positive dynamism, an inspirational example to be imitated. His desire to undertake some action reflects the agony of his own internal conflict. He is torn between being a participant in events (to bring an end to

[30] This is evident in the contrast between the fictional and historical places referred to by the young kobzar and the old bandurist. The young kobzar turns for inspiration to Savur, a fictional Cossack burial site mentioned in dumy, while the old bandurist draws on his personal experience at historical Cossack sites—Great Meadow, Hluxiv, and Baturyn.

the status quo) and remaining an observer recording events, both of which are factors in the dialectic nature of his calling. Even in his moments of doubt, however, the young kobzar remains unaware of the lessons of the past, particularly the applicability of the old bandurist's words that "For motion—/ like a string that with the most intense trembling / Filled / cannot stand it and dies down. / So wisdom comes."

The old bandurist, on the other hand, understands the coexistence of opposites, represented to a large degree by the tension between stasis and dynamism. The coexistence of opposites is found in the world inhabited by the bandurists, a world of contradictory terms where each term may retain its validity. The spheres they inhabit are inherently paradoxical as the contrasting pairs living–dead, blindman–seer, secret–public, and so on have shown. By occupying their special marginal position, one that is inaccessible to the uninitiated, the bandurists grasp all that goes on and function as the living memory, as the "all-absorbing well of the world." Their range of experience, from the earthy degeneracy of the feast, to the humiliation they suffer at the hands of the public, to the loftiness of their vision of a golden age, along with an almost Buddhistic awareness of the inherent contradiction of things, gives them a profound understanding of life, particularly of the dialectic nature of the historical process and their own role in it.

In contrast to the old bandurist, who has come to terms with the contradictions, the young kobzar is not fully cognizant of the coexistence of opposites and the dialectic nature of the world. As a result he does not understand the significance of the old bandurist's vision. While the old bandurist fuses both principles (stasis and dynamism), the young kobzar seeks clear choices and condemns the old bandurist for passivity without being able to appreciate his words. The young kobzar's search for purpose and his understanding of the Cossack past have a bearing on the absence of a resolution to the poem. As an adept, he has praise for the rebellions of the past but does not grasp the significance of his own words, "There is no end to the road!" ("Нема кінця дорозі!") (II, 20). Furthermore, while the young kobzar may represent the dynamic principle of the rebellion, he has no specific direction, and in view of the historical lessons of the past, dynamism alone is of questionable value. Part I ends with him shouting: "Ведіть до дверей мене! Двері! Де двері?" ("Lead me to the door! The door! Where is the door?"; I, 19), and at the end of part II he is depicted stumbling off into the unknown, a blind force without direction.

The dialectic nature of the conflict in "Slipci," is a characteristic feature of Bažan's poetry of this period. As Kostenko has pointed out, "Slipci" (1930–31), "A Conversation of Hearts" ("Розмова сердець," 1927), "Hoffman's Night" ("Гофманова ніч," 1928), and "The Death of Hamlet" ("Смерть Гамлета," 1932) present the clash of two opposing value systems as a debate between the protagonist and his interlocutor (often his double).[31] While "Slipci" shares a number of features with the poems of this period, it differs in its treatment of the debate. In "A Conversation of Hearts" and "The Death of Hamlet" the protagonists are portrayed believing in the inevitable victory of their views, while in "Slipci" the young kobzar is plagued by doubts and the ambivalence is not resolved (as it is, for example, in "The Death of Hamlet.") Thus the duality and the numerous oxymorons are representative of Bažan's poetry of this period, and, more specifically, they are characteristic of the portrayal of bandurists in Ukrainian literature.

Bažan's portrayal of the bandurists shares several features with traditional depictions of the bandurist in Ukrainian literature, particularly in Ševčenko's poetry. In Ševčenko's "Perebendja" ("Перебендя," 1839), for example, the bandurist is also positioned beyond the pale of society, inhabiting two worlds that are essentially antithetic. For his public performances he adapts to his audience, singing whatever pleases them, while his private world is one of solitude and meditation. Ševčenko also portrays him in the role of the blind prophet communing with God as well as suffering humiliation at the hands of the public. While the bandurist's knowledge remains shrouded in mystery, he is presented exhibiting the characteristic contrast of opposites. Another side to the bandurist's character that has relevance for "Slipci" can be found in Ševčenko's "The Hajdamaks." Here, instead of the solitary and enigmatic figure found in "Perebendja," the bandurist is presented as sharing the aspirations of the people and entertaining the populace (Cossacks, monks, farmers, thieves) with light humorous songs and with songs of inspiration and bravery. As a participant in the hajdamak uprising, the bandurist is linked to the patriotic aspirations of the Ukrainian people, not as a leader of the rebellion but as a witness who records and preserves the experience, from the blessing of knives to the slaughter and carousing at Uman'. These two aspects of the bandurist's character create a tension that has great significance for the debate between the old bandurist and the young kobzar, as well as for Bažan as a poet.

31 "В поемах 'Розмова сердець,' 'Будівлі,' 'Ґетто в Умані,' 'Сліпці,' 'Число,' 'Смерть Гамлета,' 'Трилогія пристрасті' розгорнута безпрецедентна в історії української радянської поезії дискусія з моральними двійниками—примарними образами буржуазного світу—на честь прогресу і соціалізму." Kostenko, p. 21.

The historical framework of the poem and the question of the bandurist's role are relevant to Bažan's own time. Parallels can be drawn between the fratricidal struggles of the Cossacks and Soviet Civil War, where Ukrainians fought alongside the Bolsheviks, the anarchists (Nestor Maxno's forces), and the nationalists (Symon Petljura's forces). The period after the war was also a period of transition. In the early 1920s hopes for Ukrainian autonomy were raised by the Soviet policy of Ukrainization. The renaissance of Ukrainian cultural and political life was officially sanctioned by the Party. This period also saw the introduction of the NEP and the reappearance of the bourgeoisie. However, by the late 1920s the political and cultural climate had changed once more. Ukrainization was being replaced by increased centralization as Russia reasserted its control over Ukraine, much as Catherine II had done earlier.

Literature was also being forced to conform to Party dictates as numerous writers came under attack.[32] In Ukraine this criticism had a particular target, Xvyl'ovizm. In the late 1920s this was a term of opprobrium that became synonymous with Ukrainian nationalism. In asserting its control the Party attached this label to many literary organizations and journals that sought to retain their independence of Party demands, some of which Bažan was associated with, such as *Nova generacija*. Bažan, in spite of his early poetry in which he enthusiastically praised the Revolution and expressed admiration for its goals, also came under attack.[33]

In view of the charged atmosphere and the early criticism of parts I and II of "Slipci," it may not be surprising that part III never appeared in print. The uneasiness of the critics about the ambivalence and about the obvious parallels to the present (the 1920s) may have convinced Bažan to practice self-censorship. In addition, Bažan's own youthful ardor for the Revolution may have cooled significantly in view of the increasing repression.[34] Undoubtedly the suicides of Vladimir Majakovskij (14 April 1930), whom Bažan greatly admired, and of Mykola Xvyl'ovyj (13 May 1933) gave Bažan reason to pause. The absence of a resolution may thus reflect both the external pressure and an internal tension within Bažan's own conception of himself as a poet. On the one hand, the poet appears as an activist, politi-

[32] Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine*, pp. 159–72.

[33] Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine*, pp. 123–24.

[34] As is apparent in "Edifices" ("Будівлі," 1928), where the historical sequence of the periods described proceeds from the Gothic to the Baroque, ending with the period of socialism/ communism (the 1920s), Bažan expresses a muted admiration for the cultural achievements of the past rather than a naive belief in the superiority of the present. Unfortunately, in the eyes of the Party this remained a shortcoming, not a virtue.

cally engaged and committed to the goals of the Revolution; on the other hand, the poet appears as an observer, reflecting upon the events around him. This internal conflict raised questions that were most unwelcome and even dangerous during the political repression of the 1930s.

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An Ottoman *Ġazānāme* on Ḫalīl Paša's Naval Campaign against the Cossacks (1621)

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The *ġazānāme* ("a writing on holy war")[1] genre held a prominent place in Ottoman literary culture. As matter of course, sultans and pashas contracted men of letters to extol their military exploits in usually high-flown, epic poems or rhymed-prose (*sej'*) pieces. Little is known of *ġazānāme*s on the Ottoman struggle with the Cossacks, who in the first half of the seventeenth century brought devastation to all shores of the Black Sea. Unlike the typical *ġazā*, in which the forces of Islam were on the offensive against the infidel, expanding the boundaries of the *dārü'l-Islām* or "abode of Islam" at the expense of the *dārü'l-ḥarb* or "abode of war," in the Black Sea the Ottomans were engaged in a war to protect the realm of Islam against the infidel.[2] Perhaps the defensive predicament of the Ottomans in the Black Sea meant that the events of this struggle provided little material suitable for *ġazānāme* treatment.[3] However, it may be that there were more *ġazānāme*s dealing with the Cossack problem than are presently known. In 1961 G. M. Meredith-Owens published an article in which he described and partially translated a poetic treatment of the expedition of Ken'ān Paša

[1] Also *ġazavātnāme* ("a writing on holy wars"). Related to the *ġazānāme*/*ġazavātnāme* is the *menāqibnāme* ("a writing on exploits, heroic deeds"), *fetḥnāme* ("a writing on a conquest")—an official report of a victory sent to notables or foreign rulers—and *żafernāme* ("a writing on a victory"). Frequently these terms were confused and used interchangeably. See G. L. Lewis, "The Utility of Ottoman Fetḥnāmes," *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London, 1962), pp. 192–96, esp. p. 192.

[2] The Arabic word for holy war, *ġazā*, denotes an offensive, aggressive action, such as a raid, assault, or invasion. In Lane's dictionary, the definition of another form, *ġazāwat*, includes "to fight with [or to fight with and plunder] the enemy [*in the country of the latter* (stress added)]" (Edward William Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon* [London, 1877], p. 2257).

[3] For the Ottoman land-wars in Ukraine in the seventeenth century, there are a number of known, though still mostly unstudied and unpublished, *ġazānāmes*, such as Yusūf Nābī's *Fetiḥnāme-i Qamaniče*. Recently a *ġazānāme* devoted to Sultan 'Oṣmān II and the Xotyn' campaign has been discovered and published (*II. Osman adına yazılmış Zafer-nâme*, ed. Yaşar Yücel [Ankara, 1983]). A dissertation directed by Omeljan Pritsak provides the first full treatment (texts, translations, and commentaries) of *ġazānāmes* devoted to the wars in Ukraine in the second half of the seventeenth century: Lubomyr Andrij Hajda, "Two Ottoman Gazanames Concerning the Chyhyryn Campaign of 1678" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1984) (the anonymous *Čehrin Seferi* [Čyhyryn campaign] and 'Abdü'l-Kerīm Efendi's *Aḥvāl-i Ijmāl-i Sefer-i Čehrin* [A Summary of affairs of the campaign of Čyhyryn]).

against the Cossacks in 1628, the *Pašanāme* of Ṭulū'ī Ibrāhīm Paša, which he found in an illustrated manuscript in the British Library.[4] Here I offer a facsimile, translation, and commentary of a section, from another *ġazānāme*, devoted to a different Black Sea campaign.

The work in question is the anomymous *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša* (*Ġazānāme* of Ḫalīl Paša). There are three known manuscripts, of which two are in Istanbul, in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (Revan 1482) and the Süleymaniye Library (Es'ad Efendi 2139), and one is in Vienna, in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (H. O. 72).[5] All three manuscripts are undated. Only the two Istanbul manuscripts could be inspected and, judging from their watermarks, scripts, and ornamentation, they are from the seventeenth century. While it has not been possible to establish any textual relation between the three manuscripts, the Vienna appears to be furthest removed from the original because its text bears signs of having been "tidied up" by a scribe.[6] The text of the Topkapı Library's Revan collection manuscript is the basis for the translation given below, and a facsimile of the relevant section is provided. However, it should be noted that the Revan and Es'ad Efendi manuscripts contain about the same number of

[4] G. M. Meredith-Owens, "Ken'ān Pasha's Expedition against the Cossacks," *British Museum Quarterly* 24 (1961): 76–82.

[5] These three manuscripts are listed and described, respectively, in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe yazmaları kataloğu*, vol. 1, ed. Fehmi Edhem Karatay (Istanbul, 1961), p. 380; *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, vol. 1, *Türkçe tarih yazmaları* (Istanbul, n.d.), pp. 285-86; and *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 2, ed. Gustav Flügel (Vienna, 1865), no. 1043, pp. 253-54. A title (*Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša*) for the work is found only at the head of the opening page of Vienna MS, fol. 1b. The published manuscript catalogues arbitrarily refer to the work as *Menāqīb-i Ḫalīl Paša* (The exploits of Ḫalīl Paša; *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi* 1, p. 380) and *Menāqīb-i Qapūdān-i Deryā Ḫalīl Paša* (The exploits of Grand Admiral Ḫalīl Paša; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Gazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ġazavāt-nāmesi* [Ankara, 1956] p. 95). Because of the reference to an 'Alī in the first pages of the work, the Topkapı catalogue ascribes authorship to the famous Ottoman author, Gelibolu Muṣṭafā 'Alī, even though the latter died in 1008/1600 (as the catalogue itself indicates on the same page; see *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi*, p. 380), before most of the events in the work occurred. In addition, because the name "Nādirī" is written beside a poem on the final page of the Es'ad Efendi MS, the work has also been ascribed to the poet Ġanī-zāde Nādirī. However, this work is not present in lists of Nādirī's works (*İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, 1, p. 286). Within the text of the *ġazānāme* the work is referred to as a *risāle-i ġazavāt* ("an epistle of *ġazās*") (Topkapı Sarayı Library, Revan 1482, fol. 167a).

[6] E.g., while in the other two manuscripts there is frequent alteration (sometimes in the same clause) between the informal address and the *plural majestatis* for the second person when the sultan speaks or writes to Ḫalīl Paša, in the Vienna manuscript there is, in this context, a tendency to use the informal second person rather than to alternate between the formal and informal second person. For other examples of "hyper-correctness" in the Vienna manuscript, see fns. 62, 63, 82, 84, 91, 95.

problematic readings and scribal errors.[7] In the translation, reference is made to the Es'ad Efendi and Vienna manuscripts when there is a significantly different reading.

The hero of the *ġazānāme*, Ḫalīl Paša (1560?–1629), an Armenian in origin, from the Qayṣerī (Kayseri) region in central Anatolia, twice held the post of grand vizier (1617–1619, 1626–1628) and four times that of *qapūdān paša* or grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet (1608–1610, 1614–1617, 1619–1622, 1623).[8] The *ġazānāme* relates his early career in the palace as a member of the sultan's falconer corps; his participation as the head of that corps (*čaqïrjï bašï*) in the Egri (Erlau) campaign of 1596 against the Habsburgs; and, with time, as commander of the janissary corps (*yeñičeri aġasï*) in campaigns against Jelālī rebels in the Asian provinces (the Jānbūlād tribe in the province of Aleppo, and Qalendār-zāde in central Anatolia) during the first years of the seventeenth century; as *qapūdān paša* in naval campaigns in the Mediterranean in 1609 and 1614; and as grand vizier and commander-in-chief (*serdār-i ekrem*) of the Ardabīl campaign against Safavid Iran in 1617–1618. The last episode in *Ġazānāme* is devoted to Ḫalīl Paša's exploits in the Black Sea in 1621 as *qapūdān paša*.[9] This was the year of the Xotyn'[10] campaign mounted by Sultan 'Os̱mān II against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, primarily in response to the unceasing Black Sea depredations of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, whose bases on the Dnieper were in territory subject to the Commonwealth.[11]

Here the main interest is in *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša* as a historical source. In dealing with *ġazānāme*s, it must be kept in mind that they are primarily works of *belles-lettres* aimed at extolling the military accomplishments of a Muslim commander (who was often a given work's sponsor) and his men and at entertaining the reader or listener. Exaggerations, half-truths, and even inventions are scarcely avoidable in such pieces. However, as *ġazānāme*s relate to historical events, they can contain valuable, even eyewitness, historical information. Often they are the only available sources for events or are the bases of chronicle accounts. For the historian,

7 The Revan MS has 167 folios of 19 x 11.5 cm format; the Süleymaniye Library's Es'ad Efendi MS has 145 folios; and the Vienna MS has 243 folios. All three manuscripts are written in a clear *nesḫ* script.

8 J. H. Kramers, "Halîl Paşa," *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Istanbul, 1950): 160–61.

9 Topkapı Sarayı Library, Revan 1482, fols. 155b–162a; Süleymaniye Library, Es'ad Efendi 2139, fols. 135b–141a; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 72, fols. 228a–237b.

10 Xotyn' (Chocim in Polish, Hotin in Ottoman) a town in southeastern Ukraine, on the right bank of the Dniester, 29 km north of the Prut River and 20 km south of Kam"janec'-Podil's'kyj.

11 In addition to the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks, there were the Russian Don Cossacks who also raided the Azov as well as the Black Sea, often together with the Zaporozhians.

the *ġazāname* can be important both as an intellectual document—revealing Ottoman attitudes to and evaluations of given events and their protagonists and Ottoman military and political aims and expectations—and as a source of concrete historical data. In the case of *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša*, it will become apparent that, despite limitations due to genre, it is a useful historical source.

The significance of the events in the Black Sea during the Xotyn' campaign has not been fully appreciated in the historical literature.[12] Throughout the summer of 1621, while the Ottomans were preparing and marching a major force against the Commonwealth, the Zaporozhian Cossacks carried out numerous expeditions directed at various far-flung shores of the Black Sea.[13] It is not clear whether these expeditions were part of the Commonwealth's anti-Ottoman strategy in the face of the upcoming war or whether they were the usual raids undertaken by the Cossacks for booty.[14] What is clear is that the Cossacks' actions interfered with the main tasks of the Ottoman fleet in the war, which were to convey supplies to the Danube for the sultan's army, help reconstruct and defend the pontoon bridge across the river at Isaqjï (Isaccea)[15] by which the army would pass on its way

[12] Hruševs'kyj, while aware of the degree to which the Ottoman chronicles exaggerate the magnitude of naval successes against the Cossacks, regards the raids of 1621 as few and small, at most irritants to the Porte (Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 7 [Kiev, 1909; reprint ed., New York, 1956], pp. 462–64). Tušin provides a fuller presentation of the raids and proposes that their occurrence prompted the Ottomans to insist on including an article about them in the pact with the Commonwealth concluded at Xotyn' (Ju. P. Tušin, *Russkoe moreplavanie na Kaspijskom, Azovskom i Černom morjax [XVII vek]* [Moscow, 1978], pp. 107–8); actually the raids were the primary reason the Porte went to war in the first place. Podhorodecki and Rašba provide some information on the attitude of the Commonwealth authorities to Cossack naval expeditions in 1621 (Leszek Podhorodecki and Noj Raszba [Rašba], *Wojna chocimska 1621 roku* [Cracow, 1979], pp. 120–22, 135). None of these authors consider the effect of Cossack naval raids on the outcome of the Xotyn' conflict.

[13] As will become evident in the text of and commentary to *Ġazānāme* below, the Don Cossacks were also active on the sea in 1621, albeit in lesser numbers.

[14] Podhorodecki and Rašba point out that certain circles in the Commonwealth preferred to have all possible Cossack forces facing the Ottoman army alongside the Polish army, rather than on the Black Sea (Podhorodecki and Raszba, *Wojna chocimska*, pp. 120–22, 135).

[15] On the right bank of the Danube, about 110 km from the Black Sea going by the northern (Kili) branch. Such a bridge over the Danube, constructed by connecting barges known as *ṭombaz* or *ṭonbaz* (hence *köpri ṭonbazlarï*, "bridge barges," in reference to the supports of the Danube bridge in Kātib Čelebi, *Fez̤leke*, vol. 1 [Istanbul, 1287/1870–1871], p. 406), was revived in times of need, such as the transfer of large military forces into Wallachia. An observer in July 1621 reported that the river was spanned by building the bridge between islands (*Žerela do istoriji Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 8, *Materijaly do istoriji ukrajins'koji kozaččyny*, pt. 1, *Dokumenty po rik 1631*, ed. Ivan Kryp"jakevyč [Lviv, 1908], no. 146, p. 228). On 28 August 1621 the nuncio in Venice reported that there were three bridges across the Danube, with one being three miles (*miglia*) long. If this report was accurate, perhaps it referred to three legs of the bridge between the islands ("Nuovi contributi sul Vaevoda Gaspare Graziani e la

north, and participate in the building of a new fortress in the same town. Thus, as the Ottoman chronicles and *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša* relate, throughout the campaign season it was necessary to send sizable flotillas and squadrons of ships or boats to threatened or strategic places in practically all regions of the sea—Anatolia, the mouths of the Dnieper and Danube, the Strait of Kerč[16] between the Azov and Black Seas, and the Bosporus. At one point *qapūdān paša* Ḫalīl was forced to abandon for more than three weeks the mission on the Danube to which he had been ordered by the sultan, sail off with most of his fleet, and search in vain the far Anatolian coast for a reported Cossack flotilla.

The Ottoman narrative sources—not only *ġazānāmes* but also the chronicles—time and again present Ottoman naval forces as emerging triumphant from their encounters with the Cossacks on the Black Sea in 1621. Other sources, notably French and Papal diplomatic reports from Istanbul and other places but also Muscovite and Polish records, reveal a more mixed picture—greater Ottoman losses in their successful encounters and more Cossack raids on Ottoman shipping and settlements than indicated in the Ottoman sources.[17] Even the somewhat one-sided and exaggerated Ottoman version of events does not conceal that the Cossacks caused significant damages to shipping and settlements, the most substantial being the sack of the important port and salt production center of Aḥyolï (Axto-

guerra turco-polacca del 1621," ed. Anton Mesrobeanu, in *Diplomatarium Italicum, documenti raccolti negli archive italiani*, vol. 3 [Rome, 1934]: 126–239, esp. no. 156, p. 211). Isaqjï's location on the Ottoman road into Wallachia, its suitability for a bridge across the Danube, and its accessibility to ships from the sea made it a main rear staging base for troops and supplies (cf. Ṭopčïlar Kātibi's description of logistic activites at Isaqjï; see fn. 57).

[16] Kerš in Ottoman.

[17] References to these non-Ottoman sources are provided in the commentary to the translation (see fns. 71, 74, 94, 102; see also fns. 20 and 105). It should be noted that the diplomatic reports, susceptable to hearsay and rumor, tend to exaggerate the magnitude of some of the Cossack actions. This is particularly the case for reports originating from places other than Istanbul, such as Warsaw or Venice, as the following examples demonstrate: in June 1621 the papal nuncio in Venice reported that a fleet of *three hundred* Cossack boats was active near Istanbul (no other sources mention such a large Cossack fleet operating in that year: *Diplomatarium Italicum*, 3, no. 143, pp. 207–8; *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum historiae Ucrainae illustrantes [1550–1850]*, vol. 4, *1621–1628*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj [Rome, 1960], no. 1495, pp. 18–19); reports from Venice and reports in Rome that the bridge over the Danube had been damaged or destroyed by the Cossacks in July or August (of course an attack cannot be ruled out) (*Litterae Nuntiorum*, 4, no. 1506, p. 25; no. 1516, pp. 30–31; see also fn. 102); news from Ragusa that Ḫalīl Paša himself had been captured in a naval battle with the Cossacks (however, the nuncio in Venice, who transmitted this news, pointed out that this report had not been verified and doubted its validity) (*Litterae Nuntiorum*, 4, no. 1510, p. 28).

pol) on the lower Bulgarian coast.[18] On the basis of even the biased Ottoman narratives, there can be no doubt that Cossack naval activity forced a significant diversion of forces from the war effort against the Commonwealth, which, it can be argued, contributed to the ultimate Ottoman failure at Xotyn' in late September and early October 1621.[19] Aside from the effect Cossack naval activity must have had on the outcome of events at Xotyn' and the physical harm rendered to Ottoman shipping and settlements, it had a significant psychological and political impact in the capital itself. French and Italian diplomatic reports repeatedly tell of bread shortages and panic among the population of Istanbul caused by Cossack raids in the vicinity of the Bosporus.[20] The resulting famine and flight, for fear that the city itself would be sacked, disrupted life in the capital and undoubtedly contributed to the instability that brought serious disorders there in the months following the Xotyn' campaign, including the murder of Sultan 'Os̱mān himself.[21] The Ottoman author of *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša* chose to disregard completely some Ottoman reversals in the Black Sea while underplaying others. In his eyes, naval forces under the general command of Ḫalīl Paša managed to contain the Cossacks by preventing the widespread pillage of settlements or destruction of major cities,[22] a significant cut in the naval supply line, and the destruction of the Danube bridge. This meant that the events in the Black Sea in 1621 qualified for a *ġazānāme*, with Ḫalīl Paša as its hero.

True to its genre, the narrative of *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša* is couched in the language of *ġazā*, with the ever-present dichotomy between the cause of Islam and its warriors on one side—"the galleys of the people of Islam (*ehl-i Islām*)," "the armies of Islam (*'asākir-i Islām*)," "the padishah of Islam (*pādišāh-i Islām*)," "the defense and protection of the lands of Islam (*memālik-i Islāmiyye*)"—and the unbelievers, that is, the Cossacks, "perpetual pillagers of the lands of Islam (*memālik-i Islāmiyān*)" on the other

[18] See fn. 71.

[19] At the very least, the fact that events relating to Cossack activity in the Black Sea in 1621 were deemed worthy of being the subject of a *ġazānāme* and of chapters in the chronicles indicates that they were regarded as significant by Ottoman contemporaries.

[20] Dispatches of de Cesy, the French ambassador to the Porte, in *Historica Russiae monumenta/Akty istoričeskie otnosjasčiesja k Rossii*, vol. 2, ed. A. I. Turgenev (St. Petersburg, 1842), pp. 413, 414; dispatches of Papal nuncios in *Litterae Nuntiorum*, 4, no. 1495, p. 18; no. 1496, p. 19; no. 1507, pp. 25–26; no. 1510, p. 28; no. 1514, pp. 29–30; no. 1516, pp. 30–31; no. 1521, p. 33; *Diplomatarium Italicum*, no. 157, p. 212.

[21] Foreign spies and diplomats in Istanbul reported that there was considerable opposition among 'Os̱mān's viziers to his leaving the capital with the main army lest the Cossacks attack there during his absence (*Žerela*, 8, no. 148, p. 231; *Historica Russiae*, 2, pp. 412–13).

[22] E.g., in 1620 the Cossacks destroyed the city of Varna (de Cesy, dispatch of 25 August 1620, *Historica Russiae*, 2, p. 412); no raid of this magnitude occurred in the current year.

side.[23] Ḫalīl Paša, in defending the region, is portrayed as protecting the *re'āyā* or subject populations from the "wickedness of the enemies of the faith."[24] The Xotyn' war is presented as being the result of "unfaithfulness and rebelliousness" of the Cossack and Polish infidels. References to the Cossacks are almost always accompanied by maledictions, most often with the modifiers *mel'ūn*, meaning "accursed," or *ešqïyā*, which usually translates as "bandits, outlaws, robbers" but actually has the primary meaning denoting those who are "far from God's grace, under the curse of God."[25] Also frequently applied to the Cossacks are various epithets denoting "wickedness."

Although *ġazā* is a central concern and language evoking its images recurs over and over, there is room in the narrative for motivations and precepts other than those pertaining to Islam. Thus, while the behavior of the Cossacks in the Black Sea drove the "temperament of ardor and righteous zeal (*'ïrq-i ġayret ve ḥamiyet*)" of the sultan into action—a reference to his religious fervor—the next sentence informs that, as a result, the sultan was in no mood for "promenading in gardens and meadows."[26] Throughout *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša* the language of Persian kingship and statesmanship pervades and, at least in the 1621 section, it is as prominent as the language of *ġazā*. Thus, 'Os̱mān II is compared to the ancient Persian kings Jemšīd and Ferīdūn, as well as to Solomon, and Ḫalīl Paša to the wise men Asaph and Aristotle. As to Ḫalīl Paša, the qualities of his extolled are not courage in battle but wisdom and abilities in organization and strategy.[27] Praise for prowess in battle is reserved for his commanders and forces. In line with the themes of Persian kingship is the stress on obedience to the sultan as a high virtue. Also, there is an abundance of hunting motifs, reminiscent of royal scenes in, for example, Persian and Ottoman miniatures, as well as references to astrology, all of which tend to counterbalance the "Islamic flavor" of the *Ġazānāme*.

As a source for concrete historical data, *Ġazānāme* is of interest because, although there is no explicit indication of when it was written, references at the very end of the work to events centering around the enthronement of Sultan Murad IV in 1623 and to Ḫalīl Paša's presence at these events

[23] Fols. 157b, 159a, 161a, 161a, 157a.

[24] Fol. 161b.

[25] James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople, 1890) p. 1130 (s.v. "shaqī").

[26] Fols. 155b–156a.

[27] It must be remembered that by 1621 Ḫalīl Paša was an elderly man of about sixty years, and in *Ġazānāme* there is no hint that he was present at any of the actual battles with the Cossacks.

indicate that the work dates from before the latter's death in 1629. Thus, aside from Żafernāme ("a writing on a victory") in honor of 'Os̱mān II, written in 1030/1621,[28] it was written closer in time to the events which it describes than the other relevant Ottoman narrative sources, the chronicles. It may even have been a direct source for the chronicles, or for works that did not survive but upon which the chronicles are dependent. The only chronicles of interest for the events in the Black Sea in 1621 are by Kātib Čelebi, namely, *Fez̲leke* (Summary), his history of the Ottoman dynasty since 1000 A.H. (on which, for the first half of the seventeenth century, the history of Na'īmā is primarily based), and his naval history, *Tuḥfetü'l-kibār fī esfāri'l-biḥār* (The Offering to the great ones concerning the campaigns on the seas).[29] While the versions of events in both of these works do not significantly diverge from those in *Ġazānāme*, there is no hint of their texts being dependent on the latter. (This does not, of course, rule out that Kātib Čelebi did not use *Ġazānāme* for either *Fez̲leke* or *Tuḥfet*.) Nor is there any clear textual relationship between *Ġazānāme* and *Żafernāme* On the other hand, it is quite obvious that the version of events relating to the Xotyn' campaign in *Fez̲leke* is mostly a summary of that in the *Żafernāme*.[30] However, in Kātib Čelebi's naval history there is substantial relevant information not found in the other works.

Although the main features of the events given in *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša*, *Żafernāme*, and Kātib Čelebi's two works are the same, there are details that diverge, particularly when it comes to figures such as numbers of ships or men. The main discrepancies between the different texts are made evident in the commentary to the translation below. Of course a *ġazānāme*, its main aim being to exalt and entertain, exaggerates and embellishes its story; even the chronicles have more than a modicum of invention and distortion. In the case of *Ġazānāme*, the use of excessive

28 *Zafer-nâme*, pp. iv, 187.

29 Kātib Čelebi, *Fez̲leke*, 1; idem, *Tuḥfetü'l-kibār fī esfāri'l-biḥār* (Istanbul, 1329/1911). Other chronicles consulted (those of Ḥasan Beg-zāde, Qara Čelebi-zāde, Pečevī, Müneǰǰim Bašī, and 'Abdü'l-Qādir Ṭopčīlar Kātibi) give only a cursory treatment of the relevant events. There is also a section devoted to the Xotyn' campaign in a long poem by Nev'īzāde Aṭā'ī called *Sāqīnāme* (Topkapı Sarayı Library, Revan 820, fols. 57a–62b) that relates a naval victory against the Cossacks (fols. 58b–59b). However, this story bears little similarity to any of the events in the chronicles or *Ġazānāme* and it has no references to dates or places by which its story can be tied in with the known events of 1621.

30 *Zafer-nâme*, p. xiv. For an example of information in *Fez̲leke* which is not in *Żafernāme*, see fn. 71. Here references will be provided to both *Żafernāme* and *Fez̲leke*, even when the text of the latter is dependant on the text of the former. Despite the dependence of *Fez̲leke* on *Żafernāme*, the commentary to the translation below gives references to both works.

metaphor in a passage can act as a signal to the reader that the specifics of a given scene may owe as much to the imagination of the author as to the actual events behind it.

What new or significant historical data on the events of 1621 does *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša* provide? Like many other contemporary observers, the author stresses the Black Sea raids of the Cossacks, rather than Polish interventions in Moldavia, as the primary cause for the War of Xotyn'.[31] The author of course had in mind those Cossacks who were subjects of the Commonwealth, the Zaporozhian Cossacks. It is generally assumed that during this period, the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks were a greater threat to the Ottomans than were the Russian Don Cossacks.[32] *Ġazānāme* attests to this, stating that the Dnieper Cossacks "habitually [bring] the most disorder and sedition to the Black Sea."[33]

As far as Ottoman naval operations are concerned, *Ġazānā*me stresses more than *Żafernāme* or Kātib Čelebi the importance for the sultan's campaign of the fleet's mission to transport armaments and supplies quickly to the Danube and indicates that early in the season, during Ḫalīl Paša and the imperial fleet's voyage to the Danube,[34] Cossack raids and even attacks against the fleet were expected. The work also emphasizes that throughout the campaign there was a constant danger of a Cossack strike against the Danube bridge, the destruction of which would have seriously hampered the ability of the sultan's large army to cross into Wallachia on the way north or to return to the capital for winter. Accordingly, Ḫalīl Paša's main mission—to stay at Isaqjï and defend the bridge—was much more crucial to the success of the Xotyn' campaign than it may appear from the other Ottoman sources. The actuality of the threat to the bridge is corroborated by various sources, including a nuncio's report that in September the Cossacks

31 Fol. 155b.

32 It appears that in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, there was a preponderance of raids by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, while in the third and fourth decades the balance shifted in favor of the Don Cossacks (see Victor Ostapchuk, "The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier and the Relations of the Porte with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy, 1622–1642" [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1989], pp. 6–8). However, it must be kept in mind that the Zaporozhian and Don Cossacks frequently operated together and that the Ottoman sources often fail to distinguish between the two. For a study of the Zaporozhians vis-à-vis the Porte that highlights Ottoman documentary sources, see Mihnea Berindei, "La Porte ottomane face aux Cosaques zaporogues, 1600-1637," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1 (1977): 273–307.

33 Fol. 157a.

34 The voyage, according to Kātib Čelebi, lasted from 10 to 25 May (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 107).

actually did attack the bridge.[35] In addition, as already mentioned above, there was the real threat that, in the absence of the main fleet and the sultan's army, the Cossacks would strike inside the Bosporus and even attack Istanbul. With regard to this latter threat, *Ġazānāme* relates that, while at Xotyn', the sultan, while ordering Ḫalīl Paša to remain at Isaqjï without fail, instructed him to alert the *qāymāqām* and *bōstānjï bašï* in Istanbul so that they might defend that area.[36] While in Kātib Čelebi's account the local Ottoman boat flotillas of Kili (Kilija),[37] Aqkermān (Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyj),[38] and Özi (Očakiv)[39] participate in the defense of the Black Sea, *Ġazānāme* is the only Ottoman source which attests to the presence of the Danubian boat (*šayqa*) flotilla.[40] *Ġazānāme* provides the new information that when Ḫalīl Paša patrolled the Anatolian coast in search of Cossacks, he went much further east (to Vona Burnï, which is nearly to Ordu, about half way between Sinop and Trabzon [Trebizond]) than was previously known (the vicinity of Sinop). Finally, it is clear from the work that steady contact between Ḫalīl Paša and the sultan, both in the field and the capital, was maintained.

A shortcoming of the 1621 section of *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša* as a historical source is its lack of any dates.[41] However, there is a good chance that the author consulted actual documents: this section contains five alleged citations from specific documents—three from orders of the sultan (two *ḫaṭṭ-i hümāyūn*s, or orders personally written by the sultan, and one firman), one from a report in the field by a flotilla commander, and one from a message from Ḫalīl Paša to one of his commanders.[42] Throughout the other parts of *Ġazānāme*, documents are also quoted, sometimes at

[35] See fn. 102. On 14 September, at about the time of this alleged attack, the papal nuncio in Istanbul reported that the sultan had again orderd Ḫalīl Paša to be diligent in guarding the bridge (*Diplomatarium Italicum*, no. 170, p. 222; see also *Diplomatarium Italicum*, no. 158, p. 213; *Litterae Nuntiorum*, 4, no. 1517, p. 31). Jan Chodkiewicz reported to Lew Sapieha, chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, that there was a great deal of anxiety among the Turks that the Cossacks would attack the Danubian bridge and for this reason the pontoon bridge was placed further up-river and that Ḫalīl Paša's mission was to guard against them (*Žerela*, 8, no. 143, pp. 224–25). An escaped Polish galley slave described both the great care with which the Ottomans guarded the bridge against a Cossack attack and the five-hundred boat (*šayqa*, see below) fleet mobilized in the Danube to reinforce this defense (idem, no. 144, pp. 225–26).

[36] Fol. 161b. On the predicament of the *qāymāqām* and *bōstānjï bašï*, see fn. 98.

[37] On the northern branch of the Danubian delta, about 40 km inland from the Black Sea.

[38] In the estuary of the Dniester River.

[39] In the estuary of the Dnieper River.

[40] See fns. 35 and 68.

[41] There are dates, albeit only a few, in other parts of the work; by comparison, *Żafernāme* regularly provides dates.

[42] See fols. 157b–158a, 158b–159a, 161a –161b. In one of these cases the author stresses that he has copied into his work the text of a *ḫaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* (fols. 158b–159a).

length;[43] it may have been the case that the author had access to papers of his hero. However, if the author's renditions of documents in the section devoted to 1621 are indeed authentic, they are probably not all complete or word-for-word quotations. The most obvious example is the report from one of Ḫalīl Paša's commanders in which events in the field are recounted with a flamboyant array of hunting metaphors.[44]

The most valuable aspect of the 1621 section of *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša* as a historical source is not the concrete facts themselves but, rather, what the work tells about the nature of the Ottoman struggle with the Cossacks in the Black Sea, from dangers involved to strategies employed. Rather than simply portraying the Cossacks as a given—recalcitrant agents of evil—the author displays an interest in explaining their phenomenon and on several occasions directly addresses the problem, at one point through a purported speech by Ḫalīl Paša.[45] Concerning the Cossacks and the threat they pose, the recurring motif is their elusiveness. In laying out the strategy to be followed, Ḫalīl Paša explains to his commanders that even with a large Ottoman naval force in the Black Sea, it is possible for the Cossacks to "devastate and plunder so many places of the shores of the sea" without even encountering the fleet. The Cossacks are depicted as being extremely cunning in avoiding contact with enemy forces. While the fleet patrols the coasts, unable to locate the Cossacks, the latter are just ahead of it, out of sight but aware of the fleet's every move. On one occasion, according to the work, the Cossacks not only knew where the forces hunting for them were but also obtained intelligence of where another force was waiting in ambush (though on another occasion such a force lying in wait allegedly caught the Cossacks by surprise).

In *Ġazānāme*, it is clear that to the Cossack's advantage was the small size of their boats, known as *šayqa*s,[46] compared to the large Ottoman galleys of the main fleet; the Cossacks were able to spot the galleys twenty or thirty miles away without themselves being sighted and retreat.[47] To defeat

43 E.g., the 1027/1618 *'ahdnāme* ("treaty") with Iran (fols. 135b–137a), and a copy of a letter (fols. 143a–143b).

44 Fol. 158a. It is unlikely that the passage with the speech of Ḫalīl Paša to his commanders on strategy against the Cossacks is an authentic recording of the *qapūdān paša*'s words; it is probably a paraphrase or even a concoction (though its contents are likely to be valid) used as a literary device by the author of the *ġazavātnāme.*

45 Fols. 156b–157a.

46 On the *šayqa*, see fn. 59.

47 The Cossacks' ability to track the enemy from not too afar, without themselves being seen, by taking advantage of the low prow of the *šayqa* and the removability of its mast has been noticed in other sources: Guillaume Le Vasseur sieur de Beauplan, *Description d'Ukraine qui sont plusieurs provinces du Royame de Pologne*. . . (Rouen, 1660), translated as *A Description of Ukraine*. . . in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. 1, ed. Answam Churchill (London,

the Cossacks, *Ġazānāme* specifies that the Ottoman galleys would ideally encounter the Cossack *šayqa*s on the open sea, where the latter would have no chance against the swift ships.[48] Here the work implicitly supports what other sources say about such encounters—on the open sea the Cossack *šayqa* was no match for the galley, provided there was a wind which gave the latter a significant speed advantage. In calm seas, it was not the galley but the *šayqa* that was swifter and that, coupled with its great maneuverability, thereby had the advantage.[49]

Ġazānāme makes it clear that it was not enough to rely on a fleet superior in size or speed; a strategy had to be devised for the more than likely case that the fleet would be unable to find the Cossacks. This was to post naval squadrons at places through which the Cossacks had to pass on their return home, namely, the mouth of the Dnieper and the Strait of Kerč. Soon after arriving at the Danube, Ḫalīl Paša dispatched the Danubian *šayqa* fleet to the mouth of the Dnieper and twenty ships to the Strait of Kerč, while he himself planned to remain with the main fleet guarding the Danube, as the sultan had ordered. The forces sent to these "choke points" were of significant size because, as *Ġazānāme* implies, the Cossacks would practically always run such blockades; hence, battles were inevitable. The work implies that it was not enough to post such blockades at the strategic passages, for, inevitably, Cossack flotillas would already be operating in the sea by the time the blockades were in place and even with them Cossack entry into the sea could not be completely sealed off. Thus, without patrols in search of the Cossacks, their raids would occur despite whatever awaited them on their return journey. It must have been for this reason that Ḫalīl Paša felt forced to abandon the mission on the Danube assigned to him by the sultan and, with the bulk of the main fleet, sail for the Anatolian coast where a Cossack flotilla had been reported. His inability to find the Cossacks during his three-week sail demonstrates how elusive the Cossacks could be; that they were forced to flee before his ships (implying that their raiding was cut short) and run the gauntlet of the awaiting forces at the pas-

1744): 445–81 esp. p. 465; and Victor Ostapchuk, "Five Documents from the Topkapı Palace Archive on the Ottoman Defense of the Black Sea against the Cossacks (1639)," *Raiyyet Rüsumû: Essays presented to Halil İnalcık on his Seventieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987) (=*Journal of Turkish Studies* 11 [1987]: 49–104, esp. pp. 83, 92).

48 Fol. 156b.

49 Kâtib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 110; A. Bert'e-Delagard (Berthier-Dalagarde), "Opisanie Černogo morja i Tatarii sostavil dominikanec Emiddio Dortelli d'Askoli, prefekt Kaffy, Tatarii i proč. 1634," *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 24 (1902): 89–170, esp. p. 98.

sages leading from the sea meant, however, that his mission was not completely in vain.

The Danubian boat flotilla figures as a mainstay in the Ottoman defense of the Black Sea. Immediately upon the imperial fleet's initial arrival and unloading at Kili, Ḫalīl Paša set out in earnest to the task of readying "the *šayqa*s which are every year prepared on the shores of the Danube for defense of the Black Sea."[50] In their mission that year of guarding the mouth of the Dnieper, the Danubian *šayqa*s successfully engaged a returning flotilla of Zaporozhians. While there were also local flotillas based in, for example, Aqkermān and Özi, the Danubian was the largest and most important flotilla in the Black Sea defense. It was drawn from locales all the way up to Vidin (and sometimes even as far upriver as Belgrade), and there was a well-developed system of taxation and supply for its upkeep.[51] While it consisted of a variety of boats (*qayïq*s, *ṣandal*s) and small ships (*fïrqata*s), apparently the *šayqa* was its mainstay. It may have been that the Ottoman *šayqa* was adapted from, or even modeled on, the maneuverable and versatile Cossack *šayqa*, for in the shallow waters of the northern Black Sea coast, the *šayqa* and other shallow-draught vessels were the only means of engaging the Cossacks.[52]

The *ġazānāme* episode offered here is of interest not only as a sample of a poorly known narrative source type. Aside from providing a glimpse of the Ottoman attitude toward and understanding of the Cossack problem, the work adds to the corpus of *contemporary* texts divulging the nature of Cossack activity in the Black Sea and of the Ottoman response, the publication of which is still rather limited. Such texts are of value because so much of what is known about the Cossack presence in the Black Sea is influenced by legends and biases in the rich historical literature on the Cossacks, both popular and scholarly, and because the fundamental questions of how and to what extant the Cossacks were able to challenge the Ottomans in the Black Sea have not been adequately answered.

In the translation that follows an attempt has been made to provide the reader with a taste of the original Ottoman prose, including its eloquence, bombast, redundancies, and occasional ambiguities. Of course compromises have been made, since English is hardly capable of maintaining long and convoluted sentences and lacks any equivalent to the particularly

50 Fol. 156a.

51 See Berindei, "La Porte ottomane," pp. 277, 278, 281, and Ostapchuk, "The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier," pp. 45, 112, 129, 136, 148, 183–84.

52 For Ottoman testimony to this effect, see Ostapchuk, "Five Documents," pp. 58–60, 76–96 passim, and Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḫfet*, pp. 113–14.

highfalutin Arabic and Persian vocabulary so prevalent in high-style Ottoman prose texts of the seventeenth century, such as *Ġazānāme-i Ḫalīl Paša*. When the choice was made to maintain a close correspondence to some of the long Ottoman sentences, or even clauses, in translation, care has been taken to ensure that an unambiguous sense, when present in the original, can be gathered from translation.

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Translation
(Topkapı Sarayı Library, Revan 1482, fols. 155b–162a)

<fol. 155b>. . . Thereafter the aggression and seditiousness of the Cossack bandits in the regions of the Black Sea and the unbelief[53] and rebelliousness of some infidels in those regions[54] drove the temperament of ardor and righteous zeal of Sultan ʿOs̱mān Khan into action. The incitement to launch a campaign against the Polish infidel did not place in his [majesty's][55] mind the ease, and in his heart the desire, for <fol. 156a> promenading in the gardens and meadows. When the turning of his [majesty's] attention to an imperial campaign became definite and certain and the sounding of the kettledrum to action reached the ear of the revolving verdant heavens, the apparati and materials of war and killing and all of the arms and instruments of combat connected with the armory were sent with the ships endeavoring to make all speed to the port of Kili. Because it was necessary to procure and make complete the aforementioned supplies in that place prior to the arrival of the padishah of high felicity and because on the Black Sea excessive seditiousness by the Cossack bandits was heard of, his excellency,[56] the aforesaid brave vizier [i.e., Ḫalīl Paša], a master of organization, was appointed to the Black Sea for delivering to the aforementioned place the mentioned apparati of the campaign and for destroying the Cossack bandits who go out onto the Black Sea.[57] For that reason they [i.e., Ḫalīl Paša and his forces] made their way in the direction of the port of Kili with the

53 *Kefere* in this and in Esʿad Efendi MS, fol. 135b. Compare, however, *baġī*, "wrong, violence, wickedness" in Vienna MS, fol. 228a.

54 Aside from the naval raids of the Ukrainian Cossacks, this is a reference to the deterioration of relations with the Commonwealth caused by interference in Moldavia by Polish nobles as well as by the Cossacks.

55 The personal suffix *-leri/-larï*, when a *plural majestatis*, is rendered "his [majesty's] / of his [majesty]" when the referent is the sultan, and "his [excellency's] / of his [excellency]" when the referent is Ḫalīl Paša.

56 *Ḥażretleri* is translated as "his excellency" when the referent is Ḫalīl Paša, "his majesty" when the referent is the sultan.

57 The chronicle of ʿAbdü'l-Qādir Ṭopčïlar Kātibi contains a detailed description of the supply and logistic arrangements for the Xotyn' campaign (ʿAbdü'l-qādir Efendi Ṭopčïlar Kātibi, *Veqāyiʿ-i tārīḫiyye*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mxt. 130 [Flügel 1053], fol. 333a–334b).

armory munitions loaded onto the ships. Defending the shores of Rumeli [on their way], they were successful in arriving at Kili.[58]

After all of the instruments for the campaign were unloaded from the ships, great efforts were expended to assemble all of the *šayqas*,[59] which are every year prepared on the shores of the Danube for defense of the Black Sea.[60] They were all brought together <fol. 156b> and when they came to one place with the ships of the imperial fleet,[61] the aforesaid vizier, who is the equal of Aristotle, thus opened the doors to thoughtful management [expressing the following considerations]: "If all the Danubian ships [i.e., the *šayqa* fleet][62] along with the ships of the imperial army[63] do not separate but rather go together to and fro on the surface of the sea, it is likely that the aforementioned bandits will not be encountered while they devastate and plunder so many places of the shores of the sea and, before these events become known, flee and return to their lands. Consequently, the following [course of action] is worthy of the state and beneficial for the proper course: First, an equal number of ships are to be sent to and made to wait at the straits from which those swine will go out upon

[58] According to Kātib Čelebi, on 18 *jemāẕī II* 1030/10 May 1621 Ḫalīl Paša set sail from Bešiktaš at the Istanbul end of the Bosporus with forty-three galleys and arrived at Kili on 4 *rejeb* 1030/25 May 1621 (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 107). In the chronicle of Ṭopčïlar Kātibi, at this point Ḫalīl Paša's fleet consisted of thirty galleys (Ṭopčïlar Kātibi, *Veqāyi'-i tārīḫiyye*, fol. 333b).

[59] The *šayqa* (*čajka* in Ukrainian) denoted a class of keelless longboats suited for both river and sea navigation used by both the Cossacks and the Ottomans. It is not clear to what extant the Cossack and Ottoman *šayqa* differed and what borrowings there were in design and application. The Cossack *šayqa* was a military vessel armed with light cannons and manned by fifty to seventy Cossacks (who, armed with muskets, effectively volleyed the opponent). With its removable mast (which made it possible to lessen the range of detection), rudders at both ends, and ten to fifteen oarsmen per side, the Cossack *šayqa* was extremely versatile and maneuverable. The Ottoman *šayqa* was used for both river commercial and military transport (commonly on the Danube and along the coast of the Black Sea), as well as for defense of river shores and, most notably, as an answer to the Cossack *šayqa* in coastal waters where the fleet's large ships were ineffective. For sources and literature on the *šayqa*, see Ostapchuk, "Five Documents," pp. 49, 58–59, 76–96.

[60] At this point Kātib Čelebi informs that a personal order from the sultan arrived, instructing Ḫalīl Paša to devote himself to the construction of the bridge at Isaqjï and not to set out in any other direction. When seventeen Cossack *šayqas* were reported near Qara Ḫarmān (today, Vadu in Romania, on the Black Sea coast at the southern end of the Danubian delta), Ḫalīl Paša sent there the former governor-general (*beglerbegi*) of Kefe, Meḥemmed Paša, with fifteen ships; after patrolling these waters for sixteen days, unable to gain any further information on the reported Cossack flotilla, Meḥemmed Paša returned to Kili (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, pp. 107–8).

[61] "Imperial fleet" (*donanma-i hümāyūn*) does not necessarily refer to the entire Ottoman navy, but rather to the galleys based in Istanbul's *tersāne-i 'amire* or imperial naval arsenal, the empire's largest (located on the Golden Horn in the district of Qāsïm Paša). The imperial fleet was usually supported by galleys based in maritime provinces of the Aegean; the presence of these auxiliary forces in the Black Sea in 1621 is attested to in Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 109.

[62] Cf. Vienna MS, fol. 229a, where in place of "Danubian ships" (*Ṭuna gemileri*) there is "Danubian *šayqas*" (*Ṭuna šayqalarï*).

[63] *Ordu-yi hümāyūn sefāyīni*, literally, "imperial army ships," refers to the ships of the imperial fleet under the command of Ḫalīl Paša. Cf. the variant reading in Vienna MS, fol. 229a: *donanma-i hümāyūn sefāyīni*, literally, "imperial fleet ships."

the open sea[64] and to which they will return, fleeing to their lands when trouble makes the wide sea close in upon their heads.[65] If, by the grace of God—be He exalted—they are caught on the open sea, it is inconceivable for them to have the power to flee, and there is no possibility for them to save their souls before the galleys—swift as the wind on the surface of the sea and swimmers like sea dragons in the deep waters of the ocean. And if the good fortune of encountering [them] on the [broad] surface of the sea should not arise, or if they should obtain news of the imperial fleet <fol. 157a> and turn their faces toward flight, in the end the places to which they will return are those straits." Speaking in this sound manner his decision was made evident.

Accordingly, the former governor-general (*beglerbegi*) of Kefe, Meḥemmed Paša, was sent with twenty ships to the vicinity of the Strait of Kerč,[66] which is the place where the Don Cossacks enter the sea. In order to repel the Dnieper Cossacks, who habitually [bring] the most disorder and sedition to the Black Sea, the aforesaid vizier [i.e., Ḫalīl Paša] appointed one of his *qapujï bašï*s,[67] Meḥemmed Aġa—whose capability and bravery has his [excellency's] noble confidence—as commander (*baš ve boġ*) of the Danubian *šayqa*s and sent him to the mouth of the Dnieper.[68] After [these two commanders] heeded the repeated necessary orders and good fortune-bringing advice and admonition that were [issued] to each of them, he himself went forth from the Danube into the sea with twenty-eight galleys. As [his forces] made investigations in the [coastal] regions of Anatolia about the affairs of the Cossack bandits—who are perpetual pillagers of the lands of Islam—news was received that a number of the bandits had gone in front of them and had [already] dropped by those places. Because of this, with the guidance and suggestions of informers [who are] truthful in assertion, [the fleet] set out <fol. 157b> on the heels of the aforementioned accursed ones. Because their *šayqa*s are not large-bodied and are not visible and apparent from a far distance like the galleys of the people of Islam, they [are able to] discern the mountain-like galleys of the imperial fleet from a place twenty or thirty miles away and turn face to flight [without being observed

64 *Rū-yi deryā*, "surface [literally, "face"] of the sea" is interpreted as referring to the open sea as opposed to coastal waters where, in fact, the Cossacks were often at an advantage vis-à-vis the Ottoman fleet (see Ostapchuk, "Five Documents," pp. 58–59).

65 I.e., one flotilla to the strait formed by the mouth of the Dnieper estuary used to enter and exit the sea by the Zaporozhian Cossacks and a second flotilla to the Strait of Kerč used to enter and exit by the Don Cossacks (see the next paragraph).

66 Eighteen ships, according to Kātib Čelebi, who mentions only Kefe, which is, however, on the way to Kerč (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 108).

67 The *qapujï bašï* (literally, "head gatekeeper"), a member of an elite corps of the palace in charge of guarding the outer entrances, also performed special missions, such as going on embassies, conveying orders, and acting as an inspector. High officials such as viziers had *qapujï bašï*s at their disposal.

68 Kātib Čelebi states that the decision to send these two forces was prompted by news that Cossack *šayqa*s were in the vicinity of Kefe and Kerč, and Bali, *qapūdān* or commander of the local *šayqa* flotilla of Kili and Aqkermān, was made *serdār* or operational commander of this force; Kātib Čelebi only mentions Meḥemmed Aġa as having been sent by Ḫalīl Paša to accompany Bali's force (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 108). *Ġazānāme*, while highlighting the presence of Ḫalīl Paša's man in this force and failing to mention Bali, adds the new information that Meḥemmed Aġa was in charge of the important Danubian *šayqa* fleet.

first]. To sum up, like foxes fleeing before the male lions, those wicked ones kept to a safe and secret place and in what direction they had gone was not known. With this state [of affairs], while diligently searching [for the Cossacks], a place called Vona Burnï[69] was reached.

In the course of this time, with the arrival with felicity of his majesty—the felicitous padishah of the seat of Jemšīd[70]—to near Kili, a high order of his [majesty] reached [Ḫalīl Paša and the main fleet] saying, "with all speed come to the imperial army." Therefore he was required to turn toward and set out for the aforementioned place [i.e., Kili] in compliance with the high firman of his [majesty]. While he was returning the grace and spiritual guidance of the Creator aided him.[71]

At that instant news came from his *qapujï bašï*, Meḥemmed Aġa, whom his [excellency Ḫalīl Paša] had appointed as commander at the mouth of the Dnieper: "The measures and preparations undertaken earlier by his [excellency] are producing results. Fleeing before them [i.e., the main fleet of Ḫalīl Paša] on the open sea, the Cossacks knew all along about our affairs. <fol. 158a> They had obtained the knowledge that we [i.e., the forces of Meḥemmed Aġa] are at sea [near Özi]. It is likely that they threw their souls toward the vicinity of Özi, saying, 'before we

[69] *Burun* means "nose, cape." Vona Burnï is a cape west of Ordu (nearly halfway from Samsun to Trabzon [Trebizond]).

[70] Jemšīd, or as in this manuscript, Jem, was an ancient Persian king often confused, according to Steingass, with Solomon and Alexander the Great (F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*. . . [London, 1892], pp. 369–70, 371).

[71] Kātib Čelebi reports that Ḫalīl Paša set out from the Kili Strait for the Anatolian coast with twenty-eight galleys on 27 *rejeb* 1030/17 June 1621, upon learning that a large fleet of forty Cossack *šayqa*s had gone there. Crossing the sea in four or five nights, he arrived in Sinop to learn that nine *šayqa*s were in the harbor of Gerze (about 20 km south) with two captured ships. Although a force was sent there immediately, the Cossacks escaped to sea. The fleet's only accomplishment was to free a ship that had run aground after its crew fled out of fear of the Cossacks. After traversing the coast in stormy seas for ten to fifteen days without gaining any news of the Cossacks, Ḫalīl Paša returned to Kili on 19 *ša'bān* 1030/9 July 1621 (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 108). The two ships captured by these Cossacks may relate to an incident reported only by a certain Szachiewski, a Polish noble who had fled Ottoman captivity, in which some Ottoman ships sent in search of Cossacks were attacked and defeated as they approached Trabzon (*Žerela*, 8, no. 145, p. 227). This may have been the same Cossack party that unsuccessfully attacked Rize (see fn. 94). Here *Ġazānāme* fails to mention several other Cossack raids that occurred in the meantime. First, according to a dispatch by de Cesy from 17 June, in recent days sixteen *šayqa*s raided the entrance to the Bosporus, reaching the so-called column of Pompei off-shore from Rumeli Feneri, and destroying several *karamürsel*s (small seagoing craft, primarily used to carry cargo) and villages, which caused a great panic in the Pera and Qāsimpaša districts of Istanbul (*Historica Russiae*, 2, p. 414). Second, according to Kātib Čelebi, on 1 *ša'bān* 1030/21 June 1621, the day that Ḫalīl Paša arrived at Sinop with the main fleet, sixty Zaporozhian and Don Cossack *šayqa*s rendezvoused near Misivri and from there proceeded to attack nearby Aḥyolï, destroying its dock or port (*iskele*) (Kātib Čelebi, *Fezleke*, 1, p. 404; idem, *Tuḥfet*, p. 108). Third, according to a certain Worocki, a Polish noble who escaped Ottoman captivity, sometime in late May or early June galleys transporting siege artillery, ammunition, and food supplies to Aqkermān were overcome by the Zaporozhians (according to the same source, soon thereafter the Cossacks attacked Istanbul and its suburb of Galata; this claim is not corroborated by the other sources; *Žerela*, 8, no. 144, p. 225). Note that while the raid on Aḥyolï is covered in *Fezleke*, there is no mention of it in *Żafernāme*; hence *Fezleke* is not completely dependent on *Żafernāme* for the events of the Xotyn' war.

return, they [i.e., the Ottoman forces] will set out for and hasten to the mouth of the Dnieper to hunt for our throats.'[72] [However] these miserable ones were unwary for the following reason: When the prey-seeking hawks of experience and the hunters who are masters of quick understanding gain news of a great number of foxes[73] and bears in a valley, do they attack and do they make a rush upon them without first blocking the paths and passages in that valley that are the places of flight with rows of royal falcons who throw down [their] prey, and without preparing and placing rows of hunters who are unequaled and unsurpassed in the agreed places where the paths and fords of the game that is experienced with [being] hunted are [found]?" To sum up, while the *šayqa*s that were previously sent to the mouth of the Dnieper along with the aforementioned Meḥemmed Aġa were present and ready in the opportune [position] for ambush, guarding and looking for news of the bandits from every direction, the twenty infidel *šayqa*s that were fleeing before the imperial fleet intended to enter the mouth of the Dnieper without knowing about these [extensive] preparations. As they approached, these [awaiting forces] attacked at the first instant and by the grace of God—be He exalted—they captured all of them.[74]

With the reporting of their seizing and capturing them, <fol. 158b> his excellency, the aforesaid vizier, sent a message saying, "quickly take the [Cossack] *šayqas* with all the captives (*esīr*) and arrive [here]." In accordance with [these] instructions they made their way toward the aforesaid vizier.[75] When this news,

72 Here there is a play on two meanings of *boġaz*: "throat" and "strait," as in *Özi Boġazï*, "Dnieper Strait," (i.e., mouth of the Dnieper).

73 Here Es'ad Efendi MS, fol. 137b, and Vienna MS, fol. 231b, also have *ve hūk*, "and hogs."

74 According to Kātib Čelebi, those Cossacks engaged near Özi were from the same raiding party that earlier attacked Aḥyolï. Even before the encounter at Özi, they were scattered by a strong head wind, losing nineteen *šayqas*. In this chronicle the remaining *šayqas* encountered *qapūdān* Bali's force (see fn. 68) as they were passing through the Dnieper estuary on their way home, with a stiff battle ensuing. After the Özi governor-general, Maḥmūd Beg, arrived, twenty-one of the Cossack *šayqa*s were captured (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 108; the printed edition of Kātib Čelebi's naval history has twenty-one *šayqas*, but, for example, a manuscript of the naval history in the Topkapı Sarayı Library [Revan 1190, fol. 96] gives twenty *šayqas*, which agrees with *Ġazānāme*). *Żafernāme* and *Feẕleke* relate, with a few variations, basically the same version of events, stressing that a large battle occurred near Özi. However, in these sources the Özi governor-general is Ḥüseyn Beg and eighteen *šayqas* are captured (*Zafer-nâme*, pp. 29–30, 57–59; Kātib Čelebi, *Feẕleke*, 1, pp. 405–6). According to *Żafernāme*, at about this time there was also an encounter with Cossacks in the Bosporus (*Qara Deñiz Boġazï*, "Black Sea Strait") in which five *šayqas* were captured and their Cossacks executed (*Zafer-nâme*, p. 60). Although these encounters are not dated, they must have occurred in the middle of July—after Ḫalīl Paša returned to Kili (9 July; see fn. 71) and before the captured Cossacks were brought to Kili (15 July; see below). Apparently the Ottoman sources do not give the full story about these encounters for, according to a report by a Polish spy who passed through Kili on 11 July, at that time the Cossacks, using eighteen decoy *šayqas* made of reeds, lured 150 Ottoman *šayqas* sent against them by Ḫalīl Paša into reed-filled shallow waters and overcame them there (*Žerela*, 8, no. 146, p. 228).

75 According to the chronicle of Kātib Čelebi, upon receiving news of the success at Özi, Ḫalīl Paša sent his second-in-command, the *ketḫüdā* of the Istanbul naval arsenal, Aḥmed Aġa, with six galleys to the forces at Özi. On 25 *ša'bān* 1030/15 July 1621 Aḥmed Aġa, *qapūdān* Bali, and the Özi governor-general, Maḥmūd Beg, arrived at Kili, bringing the twenty-one (or twenty, see fn. 74) captured *šayqas*, more than 200 captured Cossacks, and up to 300 Cossack heads (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 108).

which is a sign of the good, reached the imperial knowledge of the padishah and was presented to the sublime threshold of the shah of shahs [i.e., also reported to the Porte], the ultimate level of rejoicing and delight[76] occurred. A copy of the noble wṛiting (*ḫaṭṭ-i šerīf*)[77] on this matter that his [majesty] ordered to be sent to his excellency, the vizier—who has the judgment of Asaph[78] —is reproduced here: "Oh you who are my vizier, my *qapūdān*, you, Ḫalīl Paša, let this be known: your service and freedom from disgrace in the Black Sea for the sake of my imperial cause has come to my imperial knowledge—may you be joyous. Upon the arrival of my noble writing, without tarrying or resting for a moment or an hour you are to reach within three or four days the glory of my noble presence at the place on the bank of the Danube where a bridge has been erected. It is necessary that you come while I am still here, so do not be negligent." To break off any of his [excellency's] own sudden individual inspirations,[79] here are the words of felicity of his [majesty's] wonders, which his [majesty] wrote with a blessed reed pen [that produces] auspicious characters: "You who are the *qapūdān*, do not tarry for a moment <fol. 159a> and do not be negligent in coming to the shores of the Danube, also taking the Cossack bandits who are captives there."[80]

Therefore his excellency, the vizier—who is the master of organization—set out from the place named Kili together with the imperial fleet and moved in the direction of the bridge put up in Isaqjï for the passage of the armies of Islam, which was the place of the erecting of the tents of the imperial army and the station[81] of the assembling of the armies of the padishah of the inhabited quarter [of the earth]. At that time the mentioned Meḥemmed Aġa came with the mentioned twenty infidel *šayqa*s, with all the seized Cossack bandits inside them, and with the Danubian *šayqa*s, and approached the aforesaid vizier, [while his forces] entered the imperial fleet. With this renown and pomp the ships of the imperial fleet came to places near the imperial army. As [Meḥemmed Aġa and Ḫalīl Paša's forces] became visible and apparent along with this type of ship[82] of the miserable infidel [i.e., the Cossack *šayqa*s], the effects of all sorts of celebrations and [expressions] of joyfulness by the armies of glorious victories that were camping on both sides of the Danube became visible—the sound of earthquake-discharging[83] cannons and muskets fired from the

76 *Maḥẓūż*, should read *maḥżūż* (as in Es'ad Efendi MS, fol. 138a, and Vienna MS, fol. 232a).

77 *Ḫaṭṭ-i šerīf* (or *ḫaṭṭ-i hümāyūn*, as below, fol. 161a) refers to a document (usually an order) or a passage in a document written by the hand of the sultan.

78 Legend had it that Asaph was a sage who was the vizier or secretary of Solomon; hence Asaph connotes the proverbial wise counselor (Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 69; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 129).

79 Undoubtably a reference to Ḫalīl Paša's earlier unauthorized departure from the Danube in search of Cossacks on the Anatolian coast (fol. 157a–157b).

80 *Onda esīr olan qazaq ešqïyāsï*, "the Cossack bandits who are captives there," in Es'ad Efendi MS, fol. 138a, and Vienna MS, fol. 232b; Revan MS lacks *esīr: onda olan qazaq ešqïyāsï*, "the Cossack bandits who are there."

81 *Menzil*, a halting-place for the army, where supplies were prepared beforehand.

82 *Šayqa* in Vienna MS, fol. 233a.

83 Read *endāz*, "throwing, discharging," as in Es'ad Efendi MS, fol. 138b, and Vienna MS, fol. 233b, rather than *endār* as in Revan MS.

two sides made the edifice of the celestial sphere move about.[84]

His majesty, the felicitous padishah—whose dignity is as exalted as the heavens—<fol. 159b> and the shah of shahs—who is as powerful as Jemšīd—looked out of his [majesty's] pavilion—which is [as large as] the girth of the heavens—that was erected at the head of the bridge. Because of this conquest his [majesty's] gracious thoughts gladdened to the highest degree and cheerfulness came forth and unbounded joy surged. To his excellency, the aforesaid brave vizier, he sent a *qayïq*. Because his [majesty] made an order that the seized infidel *šayqas* be brought to a place close to the imperial tent, which was on the edge of the waters of the Danube, the illustrious order of his [majesty] was obeyed and the imperial approval was conformed to. As those swine—who were deserving of destruction—were brought opposite that furious lion who seizes the enemy, they stirred up his [majesty's] emotion of anger and rage and raised the waves of the sea of his [majesty's] anxiety. Because of this, he desired the execution of those accursed ones in various ways and to make thereby a spectacle and diversion. Some of them were set on fire back in their own ships [i.e., Cossack *šayqa*s]. Atop the flowing water occurred a show of hellish fire. Some of them were tied between the sea dragon-like ships [i.e., the galleys] and the parts of their bodies were separated from one another and turned into food for the schools of fish. As for others, they had their punishment meted out on the shore of the water—their principal members[85] were crushed under the feet of enraged elephants and their wicked souls <fol. 160a> were dispatched[86] to the fire of hell. Thereafter, some of the violence of the rage of the padishah, whose gravity is as that of the revolving celestial sphere, found calm.[87]

In recompense for this service [i.e., delivering the Cossacks and aiding in the executions], [the sultan] performed various observances of respect to his excellency,

[84] *Jevvāl*, "moving about, migrating, wandering." Vienna MS, fol. 229a, has instead, *devvār*, "revolving, rotating."

[85] *A'ẓā-yi re'īse* probably refers to protruding appendages of the body—arms, legs, heads, and perhaps penes and testicles. Cf. the definition in Steingass: "The principal members, the vital parts (the heart, brain, liver, testicles)" (Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 75).

[86] *Peyvest it-*, literally, "reunited."

[87] In *Żafernāme* and Kātib Čelebi, *Fezleke*, ten captured Cossacks were dispatched to the sultan immediately after the battle for execution in various ways; thereafter, the same triumphant arrival and celebrations at the sultan's camp (with eighteen Cossack *šayqa*s and 200 Cossacks) are related. The mass execution scene is basically the same with a few variations: along with mention of crushing by elephants and tearing apart by the galleys (the latter applied to apostates from Islam, according to Kātib Čelebi, *Fezleke*), also mentioned are the beheading of some before the sultan, the cutting in half at the waist or impaling on hooks of others, and the shooting with their own arrows of yet others (*Zafer-nâme*, pp. 29–30; Kātib Čelebi, *Fezleke*, 1, p. 406). In his naval history, Kātib Čelebi glosses over the details of the execution scene, stating only that the Cossacks from the captured *šayqa*s were turned over to the sultan at Isaqjï and put to death by various torments (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 108). The cruelty of these executions, which should be viewed in the context of comparable cruelty by the Cossacks in the course of their raids, indicates the degree to which the Cossack menace annoyed the Ottomans. *Żafernāme* and both of Kātib Čelebi's works give the same date, 5 *ramaẓān* 1030/24 July 1621, for the arrival of these captives at the sultan's camp (*Zafer-nâme*, p. 29; Kātib Čelebi, *Fezleke*, 1, p. 406; and idem, *Tuḥfet*, p. 108). Several Polish sources confirm the presence of four elephants in the sultan's train (*Żerela*, 8, no. 144, p. 226, no. 147, p. 234).

the aforesaid vizier.[88] Then he himself, with his good fortune and felicity, set about departing for the Polish campaign. He assigned the vizier—who is the equal of Asaph—to the defense of the bridge and to the business of the fortress, of which the building anew at Isaqjï was ordered.[89]

By the wisdom of the Creator, his majesty, the padishah—who is refuge to the world and exalted in stature as Jemšīd—set out from the bridge.[90] As his [majesty] went one day's march to the other side [of the Danube, news came that] Meḥemmed Paša, who had earlier been separated out from the imperial fleet and sent with twenty galleys to the Strait of Kerč, which is the passage of the Don Cossacks, encountered eighteen Dnieper Cossack [i.e., Zaporozhian][91] *šayqa*s that were fleeing for their lives toward the Strait of Kerč out of fear of the imperial fleet.[92] By the grace of God—be He exalted—the confounded accursed ones were given a huge defeat and all of them were captured. He came to his excellency, the vizier [i.e, Ḫalīl Paša], who is the master of organization, with in excess of four or five hundred live infidels. As they [i.e., Meḥemmed Paša and Ḫalīl Paša] came together at the head of the bridge, they at once set out and brought all the Cossack bandits that they had brought to the felicitous <fol. 160b> padishah. One station beyond [the Danube] they delivered [the captives] to the imperial army. For this reason both the sovereign—who is as powerful as Jemšīd—and the entirety of the armies—whose habits are victory—were delighted and made celebrations and rejoicings. All of the accursed captured Cossacks were brought to the lofty presence of his [majesty] with

88 More specifically, Ḫalīl Paša and others were honored with ceremonial robes (the *ḫil'at* ceremony) (*Zafer-nâme*, p. 29; Kātib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 1, p. 406). The *ḫil'at* ceremony is described in more detail on fol. 162a. *Ġazānāme* omits an embarrassing incident in which Ḫalīl Paša's *qayïq* tipped over between the bridge supports, spilling him and his entourage into the water and drowning three men (Kātib Čelebi, *Fezleke*, 1, p. 406). In relation to this or another incident, a Polish spy reported that around 14 July a span of the bridge collapsed and six cannons and two hundred oxen drowned; according to him, some of those involved in the construction of the bridge were punished by impalement (*Žerela*, 8, no. 146, p. 228).

89 *Żafernāme* acclaims the properties of the planned fortress, mentioning its riverside location, many towers, and mosque, and describes some of the activities of the architects and engineers involved in its construction (*Zafer-nâme*, pp. 72–75; the fortress construction is also mentioned in Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 109).

90 10 *ramażān* 1030/29 July 1621 (*Zafer-nâme*, p. 76).

91 In Vienna MS, fol. 234b, there is a blank where the number of *šayqa*s should be written and instead of "Dnieper Cossacks" (*Özi qazaġï*), "Don Cossacks" (*Ten qazaġï*) is written. As the other two manuscripts have *Özi*, it is likely that, as elsewhere in Vienna MS (see fns. 62, 63, 82, 84, 95), this is an example of the "hyper-correctness" of this manuscript's copyist: i.e., he altered the text from *Özi* to *Ten* in order to put it in line with the first part of the sentence where the Don Cossacks are mentioned in connection with the Strait of Kerč (see fn. 92).

92 When their usual routes of return were inaccessible, the Zaporozhian Cossacks would often head for the Sea of Azov and take refuge with the Don Cossacks or seek to reach the Dnieper River basin by portaging from the river system connected to the Sea of Azov (Beauplan, *Description*, p. 466). However, even without an emergency, these Zaporozhians may have been returning to the Don River from where they had originally set out: in these years many Zaporozhians carried out raids from the Don because of repressions against them in the Commonwealth (see Ostapchuk, "Ottoman Black Sea Frontier").

their hands bound. Of eight or nine hundred Cossacks,[93] not one of them was left alive. They were made prey to the saber and destroyed by the sword of perdition. In recompense for this admirable service, too, his [majesty] became proud and honored and distinguished the enemy-seizing vizier with all sorts of favors and considerations. Then he started off from that station with every sort of pomp and grandeur and set out toward the enemy.[94]

With this, his excellency, the aforesaid vizier of keen judgment, returned to the service of defending the bridge to which his [majesty] had appointed him and he stayed at the aforementioned place until the return again of his majesty, the padishah of Islam and the caesar of slaves. Night and day he was not absent or free from service and, unlike others, he was not a comfortable and reposed slave. His being, in every way earnest and diligent in the services of the sovereign, <fol. 161a> became [a part of] the imperial knowledge and reported [news] of his majesty, the padishah, who is the refuge of the world. Because of this, his [majesty's] imperial writing, full of courteous phrases, was sent from the [sultan's] camp [at Xotyn'] to display favor toward him [i.e., Ḫalīl Paša]. It is registered and displayed here: "You who are my vizier and my *qapūdān*, Ḫalīl Paša, since I [last] honored you with my noble saluta-

93 *Sekiz ṭoquz yüz qazaqdan*, "of eight or nine hundred Cossacks" is omitted in Vienna MS, fol. 235a.

94 Kātib Čelebi gives a slightly different version under the heading, "the battle of Taman'" (Taman' [Taman or Ṭaman in Ottoman], a town on the Strait of Kerč, opposite the town of Kerč). Meḥemmed Paša with his eighteen galleys surprised the Cossacks who were in two large *karamürsel*s (see fn. 71) they had captured and to which they had transferred after a large head wind had broken up their boats. After a great battle lasting four or five hours, they were overcome, and 292 Cossacks were taken alive, of which 200 were put to the sword. The surviving captives and the heads of the executed were brought to the main fleet at Isaqjï. There the remaining Cossacks were executed and those responsible for the victory were rewarded with ceremonial robes. No specific date is given for this episode, other than an indication that it was prior to 5 *ramaẓān*/24 July when the first presentation of captured Cossacks to the sultan was made following the encounter near Özi (see fn. 87). Accordingly, the episode near Taman' must have happened at approximately the same time or shortly after the one at Özi (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 109). On 18 August the French ambassador reported that twenty galleys sent by the *qapūdān paša* engaged sixteen or seventeen Cossack boats in a battle in which "the Turks lost as as much as they gained." The survivers were brought to the sultan, who killed some by his own hand while others were crushed by elephants, quartered by galleys, and the rest buried alive (*Historica Russiae*, 2, p. 415). An apparently delayed report (2 October 1621) from the nuncio in Venice, relaying a dispatch from Istanbul, relates a battle of the galleys with twenty Cossack boats, with high mortality on both sides, which brought the Ottomans a great number of prisoners. By order of the sultan, the latter were executed by arrows, burning, quartering, and inhumation (*Litterae nuntiorum*, 4, no. 1527, p. 38). Note that these two dispatches bear features of both the incident involving Meḥemmed Aġa (see above, esp. fn. 68) and Meḥemmed Paša as related in the Ottoman sources. This Cossack flotilla returning from Anatolia may or may not have been the same as one occurring in the Muscovite diplomatic sources: a force of 1,300 Don Cossacks and 400 Zaporozhians set out in the spring for Anatolia, unsuccessfully attacked Rize, lost many boats in a storm on their return; twenty-seven galleys that were in pursuit caught up with the survivors and defeated them; only three hundred Cossacks returned to the Don (*Tureckie dela*, cited in *Istoričeskoe opisanie zemli Vojska Donskogo*, vol. 1 [Novočerkassk, 1869], pp. 156–57).

tions,[95] [you should know that] your letter arrived at the high threshold [i.e., the Porte] and whatever presentation and communication was made, it became [part of] my imperial knowledge. May you be joyous. Also, hereafter, let me see how much attention you pay to the service to which you are appointed and do [continue] the good defense of the bridge, [constantly] look out toward the sea with all eyes and ears, and expend your best possible effort and pay great attention in the matter of the defense and protection of the lands of Islam from the enemies and most evil ones. In essence, do not be absent from defending and protecting in all four directions. The grace of my esteem and my benediction is with you. May the Lord—be He exalted—be your abettor and helper in [these] works. You have communicated that sixty[96] *šayqa*s have appeared on the sea. You reported, saying, 'should I myself set out upon them or, if not, should I send someone else?' <fol. 161b> For your going out, I have no consent; you are not to depart from guarding the bridge. Look into [this matter] well and in order at last to repulse the accursed ones, send out a capable veteran.[97] And make the *qāymaqām* and the *bōstānjï bašï*[98] in Istanbul aware so that they properly defend those regions [i.e., the Bosporus]."

A little while later his majesty, that padishah[99]—who is like Ferīdūn[100] in pomp—and that shah of shahs—who is like Solomon in dignity—with felicity and good fortune returned from the campaign.[101] When his [majesty] came to the head of

[95] This clause (*selām-i šerīfüm ile müšerref oldugumdan soñra*) seems awkward in this sentence; it is omitted in Vienna MS, fol. 236a.

[96] *Elli altmïš*, "fifty or sixty" in Vienna MS, fol. 236a.

[97] In Kātib Čelebi, while Ḫalīl Paša was defending the bridge and constructing the new fortress at Isaqjï, news arrived that forty *šayqa*s had entered the sea from the Dnieper. Ḫalīl Paša sent out the governor of the Morea, 'Abdī Beg, with ten galleys (presumably the auxiliary galleys based in the Aegean that were assigned to the Black Sea that year; see fn. 61). 'Abdī Beg set out on 28 *ševvāl* 1030/15 September 1621, and, after passing the Strait of Kili and Aqkermān, he learned that twenty-six *šayqa*s with a captured ship were lying in anchor at the island of Tendra (near the mouth of the Dnieper). When attacked, the Cossacks hugged the shallow waters (where they were inaccesible to the larger Ottoman ships) and waited until nightfall when they were able to escape, despite having suffered heavy losses from artillery fire by the Ottoman ships (on the shallow waters of Tendra and the strategic importance of the island to the Cossacks, see Ostapchuk, "Five Documents," p. 61). Within seven days 'Abdī Beg returned to the main fleet on the Danube (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 109).

[98] *Qāymaqām*, "locum tenens," a vizier acting as caretaker in Istanbul when the grand vizier was off on campaign; *bōstānjï bašï*, a high palace official in charge of the sultan's imperial guard and whose duties included policing the shores and waters of the Bosporus. None of the Ottoman sources divulge the predicament of the *qāymāqām* and *bōstānjï bašï*. According to de Cesy, they were left with only three ships to guard the city and were forced to levy its citizens, commandeer private boats, and assemble a makeshift flotilla (on one occasion this flotilla avoided engaging sixteen Cossack boats at the entrance to Bosporus, even though half of the Cossacks were ashore pillaging a village) (*Historica Russiae*, 2, p. 414).

[99] Revan MS has a scribal error, *pāšāh*; cf. *pādišāh* in Es'ad Efendi MS, fol. 140a, and Vienna MS, fol. 236b.

[100] Ferīdūn was an ancient Persian king and descendent of Jemšīd (see fn. 70).

[101] It is interesting that there is no reference to the actual outcome of the Xotyn' campaign. Although neither side vanquished the other, that this sultanic campaign brought the Ottomans no gains, coupled with the heavy losses suffered, meant that it was a disastrous failure and led to the dethronement and murder of 'Oṣmān II. Because of the ambiguous outcome of the conflict, with the help of poetic license its interpretation in the Ottoman sources has been vari-

the bridge he saw that, as he had ordered the aforesaid vizier, he had persisted in the service of defense, and that his defending and protecting had, with blessings [of God], made the subjects [*re'āyā*] of the land safe and sound from the wickedness of the enemies of the faith.[102] The imperial heart, which is connected with victory, bloomed and blossomed [with gladness] and his [majesty's] good will and favors directed at the reliable vizier multiplied a hundredfold. Cheerful and joyful, that most glorious padishah <fol. 162a> placed his foot of magnificence and greatness—[which is like that of] the swift horse of the celestial sphere—at the head of the bridge of sturdy construction—which, from the point of view of its perfection of height, did not bow to the vault of heaven and over which, if the camels of the celestial sphere had passed, they would not have touched or collided with one another [within] its extremities and its breadth—and proudly raised his head high before that bridge of heaven-like semblance. At that moment the aforesaid vizier placed his forehead in supplication to the imperial foot of his [majesty] and took a step toward the brocade and velvet of the highest quality, which were wider than [blank] *endāzes*,[103] [that were] in front of his [majesty], the twin brother of felicity. When the honorable padishah, who treats kindly his slaves, witnessed this degree of selfless bravery of his [excellency], the aforesaid vizier, he displayed and made public all the various private favors that he was worthy of and he gloried in and distinguished him among [his] peers with magnificent favors. After this, one day before the day in which his own [i.e., the sultan's] troops were to turn toward and set out with felicity in the direction of the gate around which good fortune turns [i.e., Istanbul], he granted the aforesaid slave of his [majesty] permission to return together with the imperial fleet.[104] They returned in the direction of the threshold of

ous. While the chronicler Ṭopčïlar Kātibi devotes a great deal of attention to the logistics of the campaign—similarly to *Gazānāme*—he brushes over the actual events at Xotyn' in one clause: "the felicitous padishah, upon returning in felicity with the armies of Islam from the Polish campaign. . ." (Ṭopčïlar Kātibi, *Veqāyi'-i tārīḫiyye*, fols. 334b–335a). On the other hand, the author of *Ẓafernāme* and, following him, Kātib Čelebi, both of whom could not avoid dealing with the actual events at Xotyn', were able by selective reporting to present these events positively.

102 Perhaps, in addition to the above encounters with the Cossacks, this is a muted reference to an apparently serious and probably embarrassing incident reported by the nuncio at the Porte but not explicitly referred to in the Ottoman sources. Sometime in September, eighty Cossack *šayqa*s attacked the Danube bridge, and the *qapūdān paša* with forty galleys was able to repel them only after a two-hour battle (dispatch from Istanbul, 25 September 1621, *Diplomatarium Italicum*, no. 165, pp. 217–18; cited by Berindei, "La Porte ottomane," p. 289; also in *Litterae Nuntiorum*, 4, no. 1521, p. 33). Another setback around this time was the interception by the Cossacks of *karamürsel*s with munitions and supplies for the army (dispatch of 30 October by the nuncio in Venice, *Diplomatarium Italicum*, no. 172, p. 224; *Litterae Nuntiorum*, 4, no. 1531, pp. 39–40).

103 A measure of length of about 65 cm (cf. "A Turkish cloth measure of about twenty-six inches," Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 216). In all three manuscripts there is a blank before this measure, that is, where the number of *endāze*s would be indicated.

104 The sources do not give the exact dates for 'Oṣmān II's return to or Ḫalīl Paša's departure from Isaqjï. However, according to Kātib Čelebi, by 22 *zü'l-ḥijje* 1030/7 November 1621, Ḫalīl Paša stopped at the Strait of Sülūniye (Sulina, a town on the middle mouth of the Danube) (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 109).

felicity and that winter [Ḫalīl Paša] wintered in the abode of the sultanate, Istanbul.[105]

[105] *Ġazānāme* fails to mention that the return trip was not without incident. Because of the lateness of the season (traditionally the fleet was to be back in its home port by the *Rūz-i Qāsïm*, or St. Demetrius's Day [26 October O.S., in the seventeenth century, 5 November N.S.]), the fleet encountered an early winter storm that caused the damage and loss of some of the ships. As a result, the fleet was separated into three parts and its ships straggled into Istanbul over a twenty-day period. Kātib Čelebi criticizes the handling of the return of the fleet, enjoining that in such situations it is imperative to have on board persons competent in sailing and harboring during storms (Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfet*, p. 109).

Facsimile

(Topkapı Sarayı Library, Revan 1482, fols. 155b–162a)

fol. 162a

مروراشه لر نهایت وسعتندن بربرینه طوقنمز
ودکمز ایدی وضع قدم اجلال واعزاز وپای سمندی
فلك پیما سبیله اول جسر آسمان سانی سرفراز ایدکلر
اثناده وزیر مشار الیه قدم همایونلرینه وضع
جبین نیاز اندازه دن زیاده سراسر وکخایی
اعلایی مقدم سعادت توامانلرینه پای انداز ایلدی
جناب پادشاه بنده نواز دخی مشار الیهك بو درجه
سربازلقلرین مشاهده ایتدکده جقلرنده انواع
الطاف خفیه لرن اظهار وابراز وبین الاقران
مکارم شاهانه ایله مفتخر وممتاز بیوردقدن صکره
کندولر سعادتله در دولت مدار طرفنه توجه و
عزیمت ایدن جکلری کوندن بر کون مقدم مشار الیه
بنده لرینه دونمه همایون ایله رخصت عودت ارزانی
بیوروب آستانه سعادت جانبنه عزیمت ایلدیلر
اول قیش دار السلطنة العلیه استانبولده قشلانوب
ایام بهار وهنکام کشت وکذار اولدوغی کبی پادشاه
جلیل الاعتبار حضرتلرینه کیر وسودای سفر وحرکت غالب

fol. 161b

ایلمش سن سنك كندوكله رضانم یوقدر كوپری
محافظه سندن ایرلیوب برخوشجه كوزه ده سن
نهایت اول ملاعینك دفعی ایچون بر یرار كاردین
كمسنه كوندره سن واستانبولدن قایم مقام و
بوستانجی باشی یی اكاه ایدم سنكه انلردخی اول
جانبلری وكچه محافظه ایده بر زمدتدن صكره
اول پادشاه فریدون شوكت وشهنشاه سلیمان
منزلت حضرتلری سعادت واقبال ایله سفردن
عودت ایدوب كوپری باشنه كلدكلرنده وزیر مشار
الیهی أمر ایتدكلری اوزره خدمت محافظه ده قایم
وحفظ وحراستی بركاتیله رعایای مملكت شر اعادی
دین دن أمین وسالم ایدوكن كوروب قلب همایون
پادشاه ظفرمقرون شكفته وخندان ودستور معول
علیهه توجه والتفاتلری صدچندان اولوب
فرحان وشادمان اول پادشاه عظیم الشان
سرجسر رصین البنیانه كه كمال رفعتندن
چنبر كردونه باش اكمز واشتران افلاك اوستندن

دور

fol. 161a

عالمپناه حضرتلرینك معلوم ومسموع همایونلری
اولمغله طبوزدن کندولره التفاتا گوندردکلری خط
همایون ملاطفت مشحونلری درکه بو محله قیدو اشاره
اولندی سنکه وزیرم وقپودانم خلیل پاشاسن
سلام شریفم ایله مشرف ایلدوکومدن عسکره عتبه
علیه مه مکتوبك کلوب هر نه عرض واعلام اولنمش ایسه
معلوم همایونم اولدی برخوردار اوله سن من بعد
دخی کوره یم سنی مأمور اولدیغك خدمته بجه تقید
ایدوب وکوپرویی وکنجه حفظ ایدوب دریا
طرفلرینه کوز قولاق دوتوب اعدا واشراردن ممالك
اسلامیه نك حفظ وحراستی بابنده مقدورکی
صرف ایدوب زیاده تقید ایده سن ما حصل جوانب
اربعه یی حمایت وصیانت ایتمدن خالی اولمیه سن
حسن نظر وخیر دعام سنکله در حق تعالی خیرلو
اشلرده یار ومعینك اوله ودخی زیاده التمش قطعه
شایقه ظهور ایلدوکن اعلام ایدوب اوزرینه کندمی
وارهیم یوخسه بر آخر کمسنه می کوندره یم دیو عرض

fol. 160b

پادشاهه کتوروب برمنزل اوته ده اوردوی همایونه
یتوروب بو معنادن دخی کرخداوندکار رجم اقتدار
اکر عامهٔ عساکر ظفر کردار محظوظ اولوب شنلك
وشادمانلقلر ایدوب جمله النان قزاق ملعونلری
دستبسته حضور عالیلرینه کتوردکلرنده سکز طقوز
یوز قزاقدن بربیشن زنده قومیوب طعمهٔ شمشیر
ومستهلك تیغ تدمیر ایلدیلر بو خدمت دلپسندلری
مقابله سنده دخی وزیر دشمن کیری انواع الطاف
واعطافلریله سرفراز ومعزز وممتاز بیوردیلر
اول منزلدن دخی انواع فر وشوکت ایله قالقوب دشمن
طرفنه توجه بیورملریله مشار الیه وزیر روشن
رای حضرتلری دخی مأمور اولدقلری کوپری محافظه‌سی
خدمتنه عودت وتکرار پادشاه اسلام قیصر غلام
حضرتلری کلنجه یه دکین محل مزبورده اقامت ایلیوب
شب وروز خدمتدن خالی وبری وسایرلرکبی حضور
وراحت اسیری اولمیوب هر وجهله مأمور اولدقلری
خدمات شهریارینه مجد وساعی اولدوقلری پادشاه

عالمپناه

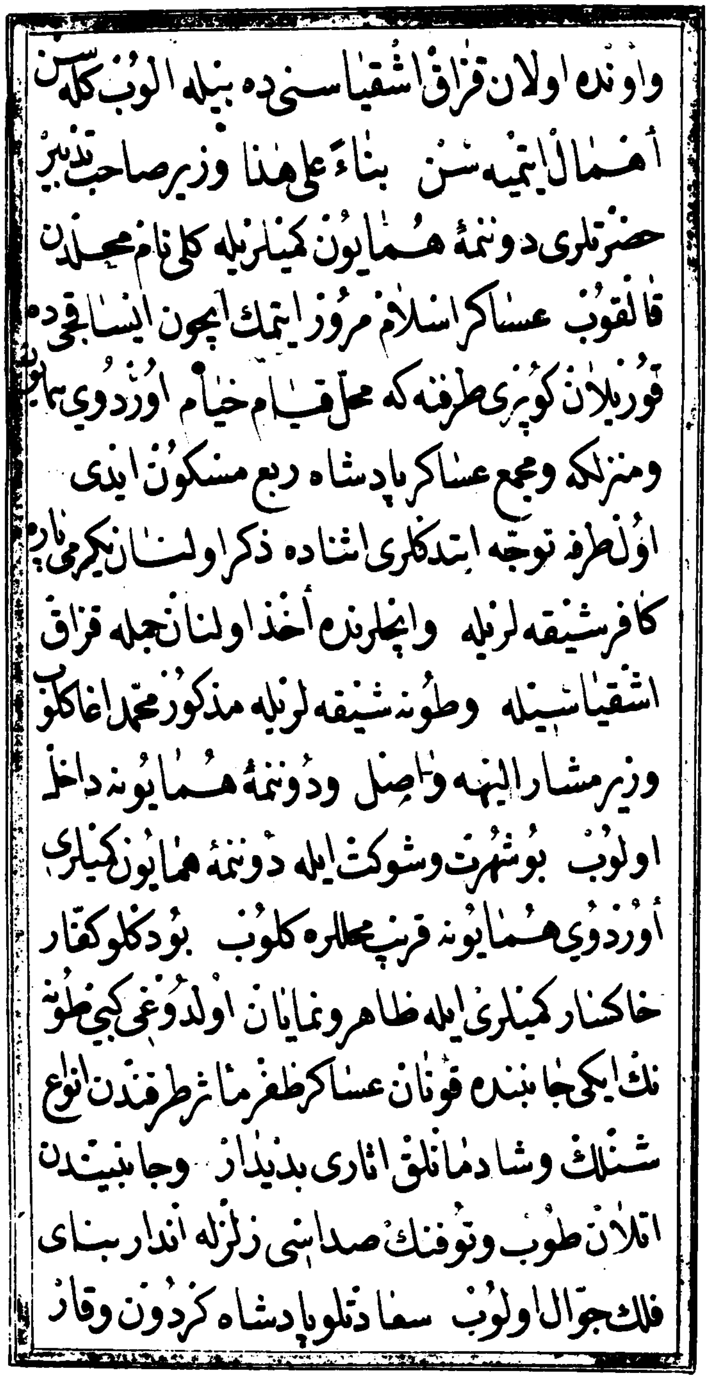
fol. 160a

پیوسته ایلدکلرندن عسکره پادشاه فلك تمکینك بر مقدار
شدت غضبلری تسکین بولوب و بو خدمت مقابله سنده
وزیر مشار الیه حضرتلرینه انواع رعایتلر ایدوب
بعده کندولری دولت واقبال ایله لینه سفرینه توجه
وعزیمت کوستروب وزیر آصف نظیری کوپری محافظه سنه
وایساقچی ده مجددا بناسی فرمان اولنان قلعه لر مصلحتنه
تعیین بیوردیلر حکمت باری پادشاه عالمپناه جهاه
حضرتلری کوپریدن قالقوب بر منزل اوته کتدکلری کبی
مقدما دونمه همایوندن ایروب تن قزاغنك ممری
اولان کرش بوغازنه بیکرمی پاره قدرغه ایله کوندردکلر
محمد پاشا دخی دونمه همایون خوفندن قاچوب کرش
بوغازندن اتان اون سکز پاره اوزی قزاغی شیقه سنه
راست کلوب بلطف الله تعالی ملاعین خاسرینه عظیم
شکست ویروب جمله سن اله کتوروب درت بیشیوزدن
متجاوز دزی کافر ایله مشار الیه وزیر صاحب تدبیر
حضرتلرینه کلوب کوپری باشنده بولنشدقلری کبی انلر
دخی فی الحال قالقوب کتوردکلری جمله قزاق اشقیاسن دیلو

fol. 159b

و شهنشاه جم اقتدار حضرتلری کوپری باشنده قوردیلان
اوطاق کردون نطاقلرندن سیر ایدوب خاطر عاطرلری
بو فتحدن نهایت درجه ده مسرور و واصل نشاط
و انبساط نامحصور اولوب مشار الیه وزیر دلیر
حضرتلرینه قاپوق کوندروب آلنان کافر شیقه لری طونه
صویی کنارنده اولان چتر همایونلرینه قریب محله کتوردلك
امر ایتمیلریله امر عالیلرینه متابعت و رضای همایونلرینه
موافقت کوسترلیوب اول خنازیر مستوجب التدمیر
اول شیر ژیان دشمن کیرك قارشوسنه کتورلدوکی
کبی عرق خشم و غضبلری تهیج و بحر قهرلری تموج
ایتمکله اول ملعونلری سیاست کونا کون ایله تماشا
و تفرج ایتمك مراد ایدینوب بعضلرین کوکندو کملرینی
آتشه یاقوب بالای آب رواندە اظهار نار جحیم ایلدیلر
و بعضلرین نهنك پیکر کمیلره بغلیوب اجزای بدنلرین
بربرندن جدا و زمرۀ ماهیانه غذا قلدی بر مقداری
دخی کنار آبده جراسن ویروب زیر پای پیلان مستندم
اعضای رئیسه لرین شکست و جان خبیثلرن آتش جهنمه

fol. 159a



واوندن اولان قزاق اشقیاسنی ده بیله الوب کلهسن
اهمال ایتمیهسن بناءً علی هذا وزیر صاحب تدبیر
حضرتلری دونتمهٔ همایون کمیلریله کلی نام محلدن
قالقوب عساکر اسلام مرور ایتمك ایچون ایساقجیده
قوریلان کوپری طرفنه که محل قیام خیام اوردوی همایون
ومنزلکه ومجمع عساکر پادشاه ربع مسکون ایدی
اول طرفه توجه ایتدکلری اثناده ذکر اولنان یکرمی پاره
کافر شیقه لریله وایچلرنده اخذ اولنان نجه قزاق
اشقیاسیله وطونه شیقه لریله مذکور محمد اغا کلوب
وزیر مشار الیهه واصل ودونتمهٔ همایونه داخل
اولوب بو شهرت وشوکت ایله دونتمهٔ همایون کمیلری
اوردوی همایونه قریب محلره کلوب بو دکلو کفار
خاکسار کمیلری ایله ظاهر ونمایان اولدوغی کبی طونه
نك ایکی جانبنده قونان عساکر ظفر ماثر طرفندن انواع
شنلك وشادمانلق اثاری بدیدار وجانبیندن
اتلان طوب وتوفنك صداسی زلزله انداز بنای
فلك جوال اولوب سعادتلو پادشاه کردون وقار

fol. 158b

مشار اليه حضرتلري داخي النان شقه لري جمله اسيرلر
ايله معجلا كتورب ايرشه سز ديو خبر كوندرمكله انلر
دخي على حسب الاشاره وزير مشار اليه طرفنه توجه كوستروب
بو خبر خير اثر معلوم همايون پادشاهي ومعروض
عتبهٔ عليهٔ شهنشاهي اولدقده كمال مرتبه مسرور ومحظوظ
اولوب اولبابده دستور آصف را حضرتلرينه ارسال
بيوردقلري خط شريفك صورتي دركه بو محله نقل اولندي
سنكه وزيرم قپودانم خليل پاشاسن شويله معلوم
اولاكه اوغور همايونمده قره دكزده واقع اولان
خدمت ويوز آقلقلريكز معلوم همايونم اولدي
برخوردار اوله سز خط شريفم واصل اولديغي بر آن
وبر ساعت توقف وارام ايتميوب اوچ درت كونه دك
لنبطونه ده كوپري قورلدوغي محلده عز حضور شريفمه
ايريشه سز بن بونده ايكن كلمك كركسن اهمال ايتميه سز
بالذات كندو قريحه لرندن قوپوب مبارك قلم خجسته
رقملريله يازدقلري كلمات سعادت آياتلري بودر
سنكه قپودانسن بر آن توقف ايتميوب طونه يا كسنه

وارن

fol. 158a

أولدوغمزي معلوم ايدنديلر احتمالدركه بزوارمزدن مقدم
اوزي بوغازنه توجه وشتاب وبوغازمزي اولية لرد بو
اوزي سمتنه جان أتوب دردمندلر بومعنادن غافللركه
شكاربازان كاردان وصيادان صاحب دغان برآلاي
روباه وخرسانك برواديده خبرن الدقده ابتدا اول
واديده محل فرار اولان ممر وكذركاهلرن صفوف شاهبازان
صيد افكن ايله مسدود وممر ومعبر نخجيران صيادين
اولان محل معهودلرنده صفوف شكاريان بي قياس و
نامحدودي حاضر وموجود ايتمدن اول واديك شكارين
هجوم مي ايدرلر واوزرلرينه مي كيدرلر والحاصل اوزي
بوغازنه مقدما ربوز محمد أغا ايله كوندريلان شيقه لر
كميكاه فرصتده موجود وحاضر وهر جانبدن اشقيا
احوالنه مترقب وناظرلر ايكن دونمۀ همايون اوكدن
چقان بكرمي پاره كافر شيقه سي بوتدارككن بي خبر اوزي
بوغازنه كيرمك مراد ايديشوب يقلاشدقلري كبي بونلرد حي
دفعۀ ولحدن هجوم ايدوب بفضل الله تعالى جمله سين
اله كتوروب اخذ وقبض ايلدكلري احوالن بلدرمكله وزير

fol. 157b

عقبلرینجه واریلوب انلرك شیقه لری جتّه دار و اهل
اسلام قدرغه لری كبی مسافهٔ بعیده دن مرئی و نمودار
اولمامغله انلر دونمهٔ همایونك كوزه پیكر قدرغه
لرین یكرمی اوتوز میل یردن سچوب فراره یوز طوتوب
والحاصل شیر نرلر اوكندن فرار ایدن روباهلر كبی
اول كمراهلر آیزازدوروب نه جانبه كتدكلری معلوم
اولمیوب بو حال ایله تجسس اولنه رق و ونه بورنی
دیمكله معروف محله كلنوب بو اثناده سعادتلو
پادشاه جم دستگاه حضرتلری سعادتله كلیه قرب
كلملرینه معجلاً اوردوی همایونه كله سز دیو امر
عالیلری وارد اولمغله فرمان عالیلرینه امتثالاً
محل مزبوره میل وتوجه اقتضا ایدوب كلورکن
عنایت وهدایت باری یاری قیلوب اولدمده
اوزی بوغازنه یاش وبوغ تعیین ایتدكلری قوجه باشنلری
محمد آغادن خبر كلوب مقدما ایتدكلری تدبیر وتدارك
نتیجه بخش اولوب روی دریاده اوكلرندن فرار
ایدن قراقلر شمدن صكره آخر المرئی بلدیلر ودریاده

اولدوغنی

fol. 157a

یوز دوترلر ایسه آخر کار وارەجق یرلری اول بوغازلر
دیو بو وادیٔ صائبه قرار کوشتریلوب بناء علی هذا
یکرمی پاره کمی ایله سابقا کفه بکلربکیسی محمد پاشا
تن قزاغنك دریایه چقاجق محلی که کرش بوغازی در
اول سمته کوندریلوب وزیر مشار الیهك قپوجی
باشیلرندن اولوب یرارلق و دلاورلکله اعتماد
شریفلری اولان محمد آغانی اکثر قره دکزده فتنه و فساد
معتاد اولان اوزی قزاغی دفعی ایچون طونه شیقه لرینه
باش و بوغ نصب ایدوب اوزی بوغازینه کوندروب
هر برینه لازم اولان تنبیه و تأکیدی و نصح و پند
سعادت پیوندی ادا ایتدکدن صکره کندولر دخی
یکرمی سکز پاره قدرغه ایله طونه صویندن جانب
دریایه روان وانا طولی طرفلرندن مدام غارتکران
ممالك اسلامیان اولان اشقیای قزاق احوالنی پریشان
اولدقلرنده برمقدار اشقیا کندولردن مقدم اول
سمتلره اوغرایوب اوکلرینجه کتدکلری اخباری النمغله
مخبران صحیح القولك دلالت و القاسیله ملاعین مزبورونك

fol. 156b

دونمهٔ همایون کمیلریله بریره کلدکده مشار الیه
وزیر ارسطو نظیر بو وجهله فتح ابواب حسن تدبیر
ایتدیکه جمله طونه کمیلری اوردوی همایون سفاینی
ایله بربرندن ایرلمیوب روی دریاده مجتمعةً کشت
وگذار ایدرلر ایسه احتمالدر اشقیای مزبوره یه راست
کلنمیوب انلر سواحل دریادن نیجه یرلری غارت و خسارت
واحواللری معلوم اولمزدن اول کندو دیارلرینه فرار
وعزیمت ایلیه لر پس لایق دولت ونافع مصلحت
بودر که ابتدا اول خنازیرک روی دریایه چقاجق
ودریای وسیع باشلرینه تنگ اولدوغی مضایقه
وتنکده کیرودوب ولایشلرینه قچاجق بوغازلره
برر مقدار کمیلر کوندریلوب بکلندرله شویله که
بلطف الله تعالی روی دریاده اله کیرزلر ایسه یا دریادن
جانب بحر ونهنک آب لجهٔ عمان شناور اولان قدرغه
لر اوکندن فراره مجاللری محال وخلاص جانلری ممتنع
الاحتمال اولور والا دریا یوزنده بولشمق نصیب
اولمیوب ویاخود دونمهٔ همایون خبرین الملریله فرار

ودو

fol. 156a

تماشای باغ وراغ قومیوب سفر همایونه توجهلری
محقق ومقرر وصدای کوس حرکتلری رسیدهٔ گوش
فلك اخضر اولدقده آلات واسباب حرب وقتال
وجبه خانیه متعلق عامهٔ اسلحه وادوات جدال بروجه
استعجال کمیلر ایله کلی اشکله سنه ارسال وپادشاه
بلند اقبال واردن اول مهمات مزبوره اول محله احضار
واکمال اولنمق لازم وقره دکزده قزاق اشقیاسنك
زیاده طغیانی استماع اولنماغین مشار الیه وزیر دلیر
صاحب تدبیر حضرتلری ذکر اولنان آلات سفرك
محل مزبوره ایصالی وقره دکزه چقان قزاق اشقیاسنك
اهلاکی ایچون قره دکز جانبنه مأمور اولوب فلهذا
انلر دخی کمیلره تحمیل اولنان جبه خانه مهماتی ایله
کلی اشکله سی سمتنه توجه کوستروب زورمایلی قیلری
محافظه اولنارق کلیه وصول میسر اولوب جمله آلات
سفر کمیلردن اخراج اولندقدن صکره هر سنه قره دکز
محافظه سیچون طونه یالیلرندن تدارك اولنان شیقه لر
جمعنه زیاده اهتمام اولنوب بالتمام کتوردیلوب

fol. 155b

سفر ایدن سفاین اسلامیانه برضرر مشاهده اولنموب
لکن احتیاطاً گیرو دریا بکلری محافظه یه الیقونیلوب
سایر دونمۀ همایون کمیلریله مشارالیه سردار صاحب رزم
وقار حضرتلری دردولت مدارترابنه یوز سوروب کلدکلر
خدمتلری مقابله سنده انواع توجه والتفات پادشاهی
مفتخر ومباهی وواصل اصناف الطاف واعطاف نامتناهی
قیلنوب خدمتلری مقبول خاص وعام ودلاورلکلری
پسندیدۀ کافۀ اهل اسلام اولمشدر وقلعۀ مزبوره‌دن
النان طوب وباروت واسرا وخمس مال غنایمدن تحصیلی
اولنان بش بیک غروش معروض پیشگاه پادشاه سریر
آرا ومرفوع حضور ملک پیرا قلنوب صدوره کلان
سعی ودقتلری دینه اعتبار وخاطر عاطر خداوندکاری
کماهو حقه قرار بولمشدر بعده قره دکز جانبلرنده
قزاق اشقیاسنک تجاوز وطغیانی واول جانبلرده
اولان بعض کفره نک کفر وعصیانی عرق غیرت وحمیت
سلطان عثمان خانی حرکته کتوروب لینه کفره سی اوزرینه
سفر ایتمک داعیه سی دماغلرنده فراغ وخاطرلرنده آرزوی

تماشای

Second-Redaction Additions in Carpini's *Ystoria Mongalorum*

DONALD OSTROWSKI

The description in John of Plano Carpini's *Ystoria Mongalorum* (*YM*) of the devastation that the Mongols visited upon Kiev as a result of the sack of 1240 has entered the scholarly literature with the force of established historical fact.[1] Closer inspection reveals that the particular passage so often quoted belongs to a second redaction, which scholars have assumed was composed by Carpini. Given the importance of this passage, I decided to investigate the other second-redaction additions in *YM*. I have come to the conclusion that they do not coincide with Carpini's first-redaction text in terms of style, point of view, or content. They are in "a different voice."[2]

The manuscript and textual history of *YM* is an involved one. The standard view is that Carpini finished the first redaction of *YM* on his way back from the Mongols. The recent discovery and publication of the *Tartar Relation* (*TR*) would seem to provide confirmation of this view.[3] The author of *TR*, C. de Bridia, a Franciscan monk in Bohemia or Poland, ostensibly obtained a copy of the first redaction, reworked it, added new material, and finished his task shortly after Carpini had passed through.[4]

[1] In particular, the oft-repeated statement that only 200 houses remained in Kiev derives from *YM*. See, e.g., *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1963), 1:607; Ian Grey, *The Horizon History of Russia* (New York, 1970), p. 47; Ivan Wlasowsky, *Outline History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church*, 2 vols. (South Bound Brook, NJ, 1974, 1979), 1:97; Mortimer Chambers et al., *The Western Experience*, 4th ed. (New York, 1987), p. 379; John P. McKay, Bennett D. Hill, and John Buckler, *A History of Western Society*, 4th ed. (Boston, 1991), p. 548. To his credit, Fennell strikes a note of skepticism toward this claim. John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200–1304* (London, 1983), pp. 87–88.

[2] The term "a different voice" to describe the difference between the tone of the first redaction and the second-redaction additions was suggested to me by Wren Collé.

[3] Painter dubbed the Yale-Wittan MS revision of Carpini's text the *Tartar Relation*. George D. Painter, "The Tartar Relation," in R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter, *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation* (New Haven, 1965), pp. 54–101. Salimbene reports that Carpini himself, shortly after his return to Europe, "said that the proper name of the people is *Tatars*, not *Tartars*." Salimbene da Parma, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. Joseph L. Baird, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 40 (Binghamton, NY, 1986), p. 197. Nonetheless, the extra "r" prevailed in Latin.

[4] Painter, "Tartar Relation," pp. 40, 54 (fn. 2).

Painter states that Carpini, while returning from the Mongols, went on a "triumphal lecture tour across Europe."[5] As evidence for this assertion, he cites the following second-redaction passage in *YM*: "People whom we came across on our journey in Poland, Bohemia, Germany and in Liége and Champagne. . . ."[6] Upon arriving in Lyons in 1247, according to the *Chronicle* of Salimbene de Parma, Carpini allowed "the Brothers [to] . . . read the book [supposedly out loud] in his presence, and he himself interpreted it and explained passages that seemed difficult or hard to believe."[7] Painter used Salimbene's comment about the Brothers' finding sections of the work "difficult or hard to believe" to support the statement in the ninth chapter of the second-redaction of *YM* indicating that Carpini's narrative was greeted with skepticism. In response, so the argument goes, Carpini made a second redaction, in which he provided more evidence for his credibility. This second redaction is now considered to be the final authorial version. An abridgment of it appeared in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*[8] and in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations.*[9] The first redaction was first published in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, according to the London MS.[10] The second redaction was first published by M. A. P. d'Avezac,[11] and then, in what has been considered the definitive edition, by van den

[5] Painter, "Tartar Relation," pp. 39–40.

[6] Fr. Iohannes de Plano Carpini, "Ystoria Mongalorum," in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1: *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert (Florence, 1929) (hereafter VDW), 9:52. John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," in *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Christopher Dawson (London, 1955), pp. 71–72.

[7] Salimbene da Parma, *Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, p. 203.

[8] The first printed edition was in 1473. On the printed editions of the *Speculum Historiale*, see B. L. Ullman, "A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais," *Speculum*, 8 (1933): 325–26. On the MS tradition, see J. B. Voorbij, "The *Speculum Historiale*: Some Aspects of Its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition," in *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the* Speculum Maius *and Its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars*, ed. W. J. Aerts, E. R. Smith, and J. B. Voorbij (Groningen, 1986), pp. 16–17.

[9] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589), pp. 37–53.

[10] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, pp. 21–37.

[11] M. [A. P.] d'Avezac, *Relation des Mongols ou Tartares par le frère Jean du Plan de Carpin*, in *Recueil du voyages et de mémoires*, 4, Geographical Society of Paris (1839), pp. 603–773. D'Avezac used the second-redaction MS. Leyden University Library, no. 104 (U) as his copytext and the MSS. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Colbert no. 2477 (P) and London, British Museum, Royal MS 13.A.XIV (L) as his control texts. Beazley pointed out that d'Avezac mistakenly thought that "London" and "Lumley" were two different MSS. C. R. Beazley, *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis* (London, 1903), p. xvi. Golubovich also thought they were two different MSS. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*, 5 vols. (Florence, 1906–1927), 1:198–99.

Wyngaert.[12] Van den Wyngaert used the same second-redaction manuscript (U) that d'Avezac used as the copy text and provided variants from the other known copy (C) of the second redaction as well as from five copies of the first redaction (BPLOV) and the Turin abridgment (T). The Turin abridgment was also made from the first redaction.[13]

In 1957, Denis Sinor wrote about and published variants from a previously uncollated copy of *YM*.[14] It is clear from the variants Sinor provides that the Luxemburg copy is a first-redaction copy. That makes six extant manuscript copies of the first redaction, all of which have been dated to the fourteenth century, two extant copies of the second redaction, both of which have been dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century,[15] and one abridged version, also dated to the fourteenth century.[16] Below, I provide a

[12] VDW, pp. 27–130 (for full bibliographical data, see fn. 6 above). An English translation of van den Wyngaert's text can be found in Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 3–72. My English translations follow but may not completely coincide with those in Dawson.

[13] One has to be careful of the tendency to attribute any and all revisions to Carpini himself. For example, Golubovich thought that the text found in the MS. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, E.V.8 was a "rough draft" written before the first redaction. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, 1:200–201. The text of the Turin copy can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 202–213. Pullé was able to argue convincingly that, instead, it was an abridgment made by a careless scribe from the first redaction. G. Pullé, *Historia Mongalorum. Viaggio di F. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine* (Firenze, 1913), pp. 37–40.

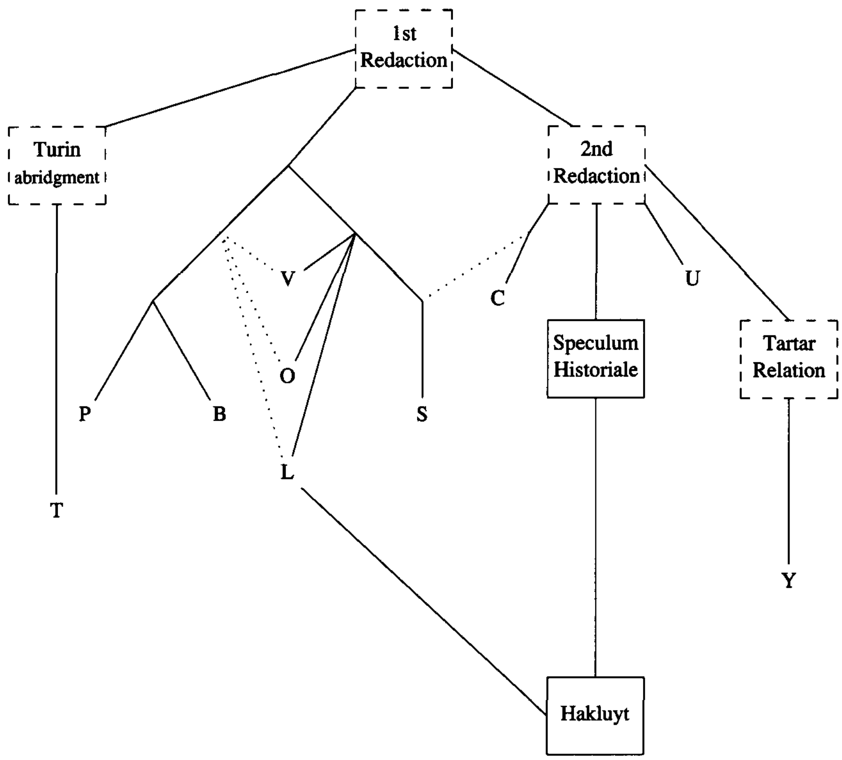
[14] Denis Sinor, "John of Plano Carpin's Return from the Mongols: New Light from a Luxemburg Manuscript," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1957, pp. 193–206. For a MS description, see N. van Werveke, *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Luxembourg* (Luxemburg, 1894), no. 110, pp. 239–46. Both Beazley and van den Wyngaert overlooked van Werveke's description, and Painter overlooked Sinor's article.

[15] Beazley dates the earliest manuscript of the second redaction, i.e., Cambridge, Corpus Christi College no. 181, to the end of the thirteenth century (1270–1290). The other manuscript copy of the second redaction, i.e., Leyden University Library no. 104, Beazley dates to slightly later (ca. 1290 to ca. 1317). Beazley, *Texts and Versions*, pp. viii–ix.

[16] Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, p. 200. Guzman states that according to van den Wyngaert there are ten manuscripts of the "first and shorter version" and four of the "second and longer text." Gregory G. Guzman, "The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and his Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin," *Speculum*, 49 (1974): 290 (fn. 17). But that oversimplifies the case. One of the MS copies of the "first and shorter version" is the Turin abridgment, one MS copy (Tournai, St. Martin) has apparently been lost, while three others (Paris, Bibliot. Nat., Dupuy 686; Hanover, Bibliot. Reg. 623; and Hanover, Bibliot. Reg. 624) are copies of Hakluyt's published text (presumably of L). One of the MS copies (Rheno-Traiecti, Bibliot. universit. 737) of the "second and longer text" is of Vincent of Beauvais' abridgment in his *Speculum Historiale* and, therefore, is not of the second redaction per se. And one is not a manuscript at all, but merely Beazley's reprint of Hakluyt's Latin version of Vincent of Beauvais' abridgment. Beazley, *Texts and Versions*, pp. 74–106. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 1:12–15. D'Avezac, as well as Golubovich, who merely repeats d'Avezac on this matter, report a second MS in Cambridge: Bennet College, no. 61. D'Avezac, *Relation des Mongols*, p. 448; Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, p. 199. Beazley has pointed out that this MS is the same as Corpus Christi, no. 181. The number "61" is merely the number in Edward Bernard's catalog. *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*

stemma of the relationship of the redactions, versions, and copies of *YM*. I have included in the stemma the previously uncollated Luxemburg copy reported by Sinor (which I designate **S**).

Stemma for Carpini's *History of the Mongols*



Manuscripts

B = Vienna, National Library, MSS no. 521
C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, no. 181
L = London, British Museum, Royal MS 13.A.XIV
O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 11
P = Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, Colbert no. 2477
S = Luxemburg, Bibliotheque, MS. no. 110
T = Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS E.V.8
U = Leyden, University Library, no. 104
V = Vienna, National Library, MSS no. 362
Y = Yale-Wittan MS

Angliae et Hiberniae (Cambridge, 1697), part 3, p. 133. C. Raymond Beazley, "On a Hitherto Unexamined Manuscript of John de Plano Carpini," *The Geographical Journal* 20 (1902): 646–647. Bennett is the old name for Corpus Christi College.

With the additional textual information that the Luxemburg manuscript provides, I believe that I have been able to improve on van den Wyngaert's stemma.[17] In his stemma, van den Wyngaert indicates only one manuscript that displays evidence of confluence, that is L, which he has being influenced by the V line as well as by the BP line. In my stemma, I have four cases of confluence on first-redaction copies. L, O, and V all derive from the S line and are influenced by the BP line. The reason I think the scribes of L, O, and V used an S-line exemplar as their copytext while correcting from a BP-line exemplar is that a scribe is more likely to copy omissions in his exemplar than he is to incorporate omissions from a secondary exemplar. There are three notable cases where the BP line has text that the S line omits. In each case, either L, O, or V repeats the omission of the S line while the others contain the text as it exists in the BP line:[18]

VL agrees with BP against SO (VDW 3:13):
BPVL: Alia faciunt ut dictum est
SO: *omitted*
2nd red.: Alia etiam faciunt ut superius dictum est

LO agrees with BP against SV (VDW 4:8):
BPLO: Vestes suas etiam non lavant nec lavari permittunt
SV: *omitted*

V agrees with BP against SLO (VDW 3:6):
BPV: coactione non conditionale sed absoluta. De his que credunt esse peccata
SLO: coactione non conditionale sed absoluta
2nd red.: *omitted*

In addition, there is an example where S agrees in an omission of two words with LOV against BP and U of the second redaction (here C has a broader lacuna that coincidentally encompasses the omitted words). Although the agreement could represent coincidental and independent scribal changes in each of the four manuscripts, it is more likely an omission in the S line that the scribes of LOV did not correct according to the BP line (VDW 2:3):

UBP	SLOV	C
uxorem etiam fratris	uxorem etiam [S: autem]	
alter frater iunior	fratris alter frater iunior	
post mortem *ducere*	[S: *omit*] post mortem	

[17] *Sinica Franciscana*, 1:13.
[18] For my method of citation of passages from *YM*, see fn. 30 below.

potest vel alius de parentela iunior ducere tenetur.	vel alius de parentela iunior [O: vicinior] ducere tenetur.	vel alius de parentela iunior ducere tenetur.

There is no clear case where S agrees with BP against LOV. However, S agrees with the second redaction against all other first-redaction copies in at least three cases and possibly more. Sinor does not provide the complete text of S, but only variants as compared with the second redaction. When he does not mention an omission in S, it is not clear whether he is indicating that S agrees with the second redaction against the first redaction or he merely overlooked the omission (in particular, additions #7a, #11a, #12d, #13a, #17a-d, #18a, #19, #22a, #22b, #23a, #23b, part of #26, #26a, #27a, #28a, #28b, and #30b). In three cases, he does indicate something in S that, for one reason or another, disagrees with the second redaction. In other words, the second-redaction addition would have to be there in S for Sinor to have noted a variant. The three cases are:

#3 VDW 1:4
2nd red.: que Caracaron nominatur
S: que cracirant nominatur
BPLOV: *omitted*

#4a VDW 2:8
2nd red.: auro et argento et serico
S: auro argento serico
BPLOV: *omitted*

#16a VDW 5:26
2nd red.: qui currit per Iankint et terram Biserminorum
S: qui currit per Iankint et terram Bysserminorum
BPVL: qui vocatur Don[19]

Because of these three second-redaction additions in S and because in other minor respects S shows discrete commonality with C (VDW 0:1 where SC: *gratia*, UBPVLT: *gratiam*; and VDW 5:4 where SC: *adinvicem*, UBPV: *ab invicem*; L: *invicem*), I am suggesting that S may have been contaminated by a C-type manuscript of the second redaction. This contamination may have occurred in S directly, or in its exemplar, but in any case after the composition of the exemplar of the S line that the scribes of L, O, and V copied from.

19 O is missing text from VDW 4:8 to VDW 6:4, and after VDW 6:14. See van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 1:26 (fn. 4), 78 (fn. d), and 82 (fn. m).

I have drawn a line in my stemma from L to Hakluyt because, as Beazley pointed out, the editor of Hakluyt used L (or a manuscript very close to it) as copy text for one version of the Latin text in his published edition before providing another Latin version from the reworked second-redaction text found in the *Speculum Historiale*.[20]

Textual comparison of *TR* with *YM* has led me to a conclusion different from that of Painter, who states that *TR*'s "affinities lie ... with the first version."[21] He could support this statement with two pieces of evidence: (1) no part of *TR* derives from the ninth chapter, present only in the second redaction of *YM*; and (2) C. de Bridia testifies that he completed *TR* on 30 July 1247 (*TR* ¶62), that is, before Carpini returned to Lyons in November to begin working on the second redaction. Painter goes further and argues that although "[r]ather more than half the material of TR is present also in *Carpini*, ... it is impossible to believe that TR represents ... a mere recasting by De Bridia of the existing text of *Carpini*."[22] Painter suggests that De Bridia's "chief—if not sole—source for the matter peculiar to TR" is a non-existent diary of Benedict the Pole, Carpini's travelling companion.[23] My own conclusion is that *TR* is a reworked version of the second redaction of *YM* with material added, possibly from various sources, but mostly from the imagination of *TR*'s compiler. In particular, four second-redaction additions (#11, VDW 5:12; #13, VDW 5:15; #14, VDW 5:16; and #15, VDW 5:18–19) appear in modified, expanded, and augmented form in *TR*, which shows that *TR*'s affinities lie not with the first redaction, but with the first eight chapters of the second redaction. In other words, either the date of composition found in *TR*, that is 30 July 1247, is incorrect or the second redaction was completed before then. A third possibility is that *TR* was a source of the second redaction additions. But that possibility has to be ruled out because the augmentations and modifications in *TR* clearly derive from the second redaction. For example:

YM (1st red.)	*YM* (2nd red.)	*TR* ¶17
When they reached the battleground, they sent forward these horses, one next to the other, while	When they reached the battleground, they sent forward these horses, one next to the other, while	before the Tatars' arrows could reach them, *they began to shoot fire against them by* blowing it with

20 Beazley, *Texts and Versions*, p. xvi. See Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, pp. 21–37 (Latin text based on L); pp. 37–53 (Latin text based on *Speculum Historiale*); and pp. 53–71 (English translation of *Speculum Historiale* version).

21 Painter, "Tartar Relation," p. 41.

22 Painter, "Tartar Relation," p. 41.

23 Painter, "Tartar Relation," pp. 41–42.

the men behind put I know not what on to the fire in the figures and blew hard with the bellows. As a result the air was black with smoke. They then shot arrows at the Tatars, which wounded and killed many of them. . .	the men behind put I know not what on to the fire in the figures and blew hard with the bellows. As a result the *horses and men burned up by Greek fire and* the air was black with smoke. They then shot arrows at the Tatars, which wounded and killed many of them. . .	bellows, *which they carried on either side side of the saddle under both thighs*. After the fire, they began to shoot arrows, and in this way the Tatar army was put in disorder. *Some burned*, others wounded, they took to flight. . .

In the first redaction, the description concerns the creation of a smoke screen. The second redaction adds the notion that the fire was thrown and that it burned up men and horses. The author of *TR* clearly has the same notion as the editor of the second redaction of *YM*, and develops it further with the idea of the bellows' being on the saddle under the legs of the horsemen. *TR* could have been composed only after the composition of the second redaction of *YM*, because otherwise one would expect some reference in the second redaction to the location of the bellows and the peculiar method of blowing them.

Beazley asserts that thirty-two additions in the second redaction of *YM* belong to the author, and were "inserted to supplement and correct the imperfect forms of his work already in circulation."[24] In fact, there are more additions in the second redaction than the ones Beazley pointed out. Most of them he may have considered insignificant, but nine of them (#4a, #7a, #15a, #15b, #16a, #19b, #23a, #23b, and #30a) substantively affect the meaning of the text. Beazley seems simply to have overlooked them. What is more, four of the "additions" that Beazley identifies can be found in more than one first-redaction copy and one of the "additions" occurs in only one second-redaction manuscript: #9 VDW 5:6 (UBPSV: vulnus, CL: manus);[25] #20 VDW 6:3 (CULSV: et si omnes decem fugiunt, nisi fugiant alii centum, omnes occiduntur, BP: *omit*); #21 VDW 6:4 (CUBLPSV: Arma autem ista ad minus [S: audivimus] omnes debent habere); #27 VDW 7:7 (CUBLPSV: et [L: *omit*] quantum [C: quando, L: *omit*] placet [L: *omit*], absque ulla contradictione [BP: conditione] petant et accipunt); and #30 VDW 8:4 (CUBPS: ignoramus tamen [C: cum] utrum [B: *omit*] incontinenti

[24] Beazley, *Texts and Versions*, pp. ix–xiii.

[25] Beazley's claim that these are second-redaction additions can be attributed to the fact that he compared CU only with L and P. Beazley, *Texts and Versions*, pp. vii–ix. Here, however, he differs from van den Wyngaert in that he states that both C and U read *manus*.

[B: *omit*] post terciam hyemen veniant, vel ad tempus adhuc expectent [C: exspectant], ut melius venire possint [C: possunt] ex improviso, LV: *omit* ignoramus ... improviso). Therefore, they should not be identified as belonging solely to the second redaction.

Painter goes on to assert that Carpini "published" his second version "after his arrival at Lyons in November 1247 ...."[26] Leaving aside the question of in what sense a manuscript can be "published," one wonders why neither Painter, who has examined these texts thoroughly, nor anyone else has questioned Beazley's contention about the authorship of the second redaction; for Beazley offers no evidence or argument to support such a conclusion.[27] This passage as well as the other additions could have been made by someone else later in the thirteenth century, or, in any case, before ca. 1255, that is, the accepted date for the compilation of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* in which an abridgment of the second-redaction text appears.[28]

The circumstantial evidence would seem to support the standard interpretation about the textual history of *YM*, that is, that Carpini himself made the second-redaction additions so as to meet the complaints and skepticism of his critics. My textual comparison of the second-redaction additions with the first-redaction text has led me to a different conclusion. Another person, not Carpini, was responsible for their insertion. In other words, the textual analysis in this case seems to counter the circumstantial evidence.

In my analysis of second-redaction additions, I have divided them into three main types:

(1) those additions that could be but are not necessarily those of a scribal editor other than Carpini, such as:
   (a) those that repeat first-redaction text or assert the reliability of that text without adding new meaning (these include such phrases as "so they say" and "so we were told" or some variant),
   (b) those that clarify or make more specific what is in the text without changing the basic meaning of that text,
   (c) direct quotations or proverbs that amplify the text;

26 Painter, "Tartar Relation," p. 22.

27 Painter seems also to have accepted without question Beazley's contention that there were only thirty-two additions in the second redaction including the ninth chapter. Painter, "Tartar Relation," p. 22.

28 On the method of compilation by Vincent of Beauvais, see Guzman, "The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais," pp. 287–307.

(2) those additions that can be considered evidence for the assertion that the author himself edited the text, such as those that add new, neutral information;

(3) those additions that indicate the hand of an editor other than the author, such as
   (a) those that contradict or radically alter the meaning of first-redaction text,
   (b) tendentious and gratuitous remarks that smack of an anti-Tatar attitude (noticeably absent in the first-redaction text),
   (c) personal detail, especially the entire ninth and final chapter (personal detail is a characteristic noticeably absent in the first redaction).[29]

Some additions may fall into two or more categories. It seems to me that Type 3a additions change the meaning of the first-redaction text to such a degree and in such a way that Carpini could not have been their author. These second-redaction additions are, in my opinion, decisively in favor of the conclusion that someone other than Carpini edited the second redaction.

Let us look at the additions of each type. I am not including any one-word additions unless that addition affects the meaning of the text. All second-redaction additions are in italics.[30]

Type 1a: Repeats or Asserts Reliability of Text

#1, VDW 0:4

But if for the attention of our readers we write anything that is not known in your parts, you ought not on that account to call us liars, for we are reporting for you things we ourselves have seen or have heard from others whom we believe to be worthy of credence. Indeed it is a very cruel thing that a man should be brought into ill-repute by others on account of the good that he has done.

[29] Two exceptions are: VDW 4:7, where the first redaction reads: "Indeed we have seen them eating lice"; and VDW 4:11, where the first redaction reads: "We even saw them carrying bows and arrows."

[30] My citation system: A number with the sign # in front of it represents the number of the addition according to Beazley, so that #1 represents the first addition identified by Beazley, #2 represents the second addition identified by him and so forth. When that number has a letter after it thus, #12a, that means the first addition not identified by Beazley after an addition that was identified by him and before the next addition (#13) identified by him. The number #12b represents the second addition not identified by him between #12 and #13 that were identified by him. A sequence of numbers preceded by the letters "VDW" and with a colon between them thus, VDW 1:2 or VDW 9:52, represents the equivalent chapter and paragraph, respectively, in van den Wyngaert's edition.

Comment: This paragraph for the most part merely repeats the statement of the first redaction immediately preceding it: "you ought to believe all the more confidently inasmuch as we have either seen everything with our own eyes, . . . or we have heard it from Christians who are with them as captives and are, so we believe, to be relied upon."[31] Therefore, most of this passage adds nothing new to the text. The only part that is new is a case of special pleading about being called "liars" and what a "very cruel thing" is it to question someone "on account of the good that he has done." Throughout the first redaction, Carpini never complains about any hardship that he underwent or about the way he was treated. Nor does he ever intimate that his reader should think he is doing "good," as opposed to merely doing his duty.

#5a, VDW 3:5

> *so we understood* (*adhuc quod intelleximus*)

Comment: See Type 3a, #6.

#11a, VDW 5:13

> On their return journey through the desert they [the Tatars] came to a land where—*so we were definitely told at the Emperor's court* (*curia*) *by Rus'* (*Ruthenos*) *clerics and others who had been living among them for a long time*—they found monsters who had the likeness of women.

Comment: This addition is meant to confirm the reliability of the sources about a rather fantastic story, which appears in the first redaction, concerning women-monsters and dog-shaped men who covered themselves with dirt and ice to repel Tatar arrows. See also Type 1a, #19a and Type 1c, #12.

#12b, VDW 5:14

> *as we were told this for certain* (*sicut nobis dicebatur pro certo*)

#12d, VDW 5:15

> *and as we were told there* (*et ut nobis dicebatur ibidem*)

#13a, VDW 5:16

> *as we were told with absolute certainty* (*ut nobis certissime dicebatur*)

#17b, VDW 5:30

> *as we were told* (*ut nobis dicebatur*)

[31] VDW 0:3; Carpini, "History," pp. 3–4.

#17c, VDW 5:31

as it is said (*ut dicitur*)

#17d, VDW 5:31

as we were told for a fact (*ut nobis firmiter dicebatur*)

Comment: See Type 1b, #18.

#18a, VDW 5:33

so we were told for certain (*ut nobis dicebatur pro certo*)

#19a, VDW 5:33

The Tatars managed to kill some of them, *and we were told by the Rus'* (*Ruthenis*) *clerics who live at the court* (*curia*) *with the Emperor that in the legation at the Emperor's court several of the envoys of whom we made mention above came from them to make peace with him.*

Comment: Again the authority of the Rus' clerics is invoked to support the reliability of a story about strange-shaped humans who did battle with the Tatars. See also Type 1a, #11a.

#26a, VDW 7:3

as we were told later (*ut postea nobis dicebatur*)

#27a, VDW 7:10

as we were told there (*ut nobis dicebatur ibidem*)

#28b, VDW 8:4

as we were told (*ut nobis dicebatur*)

#31, VDW 8:15

These things that have been written above we have reported merely as men who have seen and heard, not in order to instruct prudent men who, by their experience of the fight, are acquainted with the cunning devices of war; for we believe that those who are practiced and well-versed in these matters will think of and carry out better and more useful ideas. Nevertheless the things we have told above will stimulate them and provide them with material for thought, for it is written: "A wise man shall hear and be wiser; and he that understandeth shall possess governments."

Comment: The didactic tone of this coda to Chapter Eight is in sharp contrast to the almost purely descriptive tone of the first redaction. One also notes the quotation from Proverbs 1:5. No direct quotations appear in the first redaction.

Type 1b: Clarifies or Makes More Specific

#3, VDW 1:4

> And so there are no towns or cities there with the exception of one that is said to be quite big and *is called Caracarom.* We however did not see it, but we were as near as half-a-day's journey to it when we were at the Syra Orda, which is the largest of the camps of their Emperor.

Comment: According to Sinor, a corrupted form of *que Caracaron nominatur* can be found in S, that is, *que cracirant nominatur.*

#12a, VDW 5:14

> While this army, *that is to say the army of the Mongols,* was returning, they came to the land of Burithabet, which they conquered in battle.

Comment: See also Type 3c, #12c.

#14a, VDW 5:16

> When questioned as to why they dwelt underground they said that at one season of the year when the sun rises the noise is so great that men cannot on any account stand it, *as we have already told was the case with the Tatars.* Indeed at that time they even used to strike musical instruments and beat drums and other things in order not to hear the noise.

Comment: One wonders why, if Carpini was aware of the story about the Tatars' not being able to bear the noise of the rising sun, he did not mention it at this point in the first redaction (see Type 3b, #14).

#16, VDW 5:21

> The names of the chiefs are as follows: Ordu—he was in Poland and Hungary; Bati, Birin, Syban, Dinget, all of whom were in Hungary; Cirpodan who is still beyond the sea fighting against certain Sultans of the land of the Saracens, *and others who are beyond the sea.*

#17a, VDW 5:30

> Leaving that country, they went *still further* north and came to the Parossites.

#18, VDW 5:31

> Pressing on, the Tatars reached a land bordering on the ocean, where they came across monsters, who, *we were told for a fact* [#17d], had a human shape in every respect except that the extremities of their feet

> were like the hooves of oxen and, *although they had human heads*, they had the faces of dogs.

Comment: It has been suggested that dog-face humanoids may have been baboons.[32] The addition of "although they had human heads" clarifies and reinforces the preceding statement that they "had a human shape in every aspect."

#19, VDW 5:33

> When the Tatars were crossing a desert, they came upon certain monsters, *so we were told for certain* [#18a], who had a human shape, but only one arm with a hand, in the middle of the breast, and one foot, and two of them shot with one bow; and they ran at such a rate that horses could not keep on their track, for they ran by hopping on their one foot and, when they grew tired with this method of progress, then they got along on the hand and foot turning cart-wheels. *Isidore called them Cyclopedes.* When this had exhausted them, they ran again in their former fashion.

Comment: The addition of the reference to Isidore is a literary one of the type that is noticeably absent in the first redaction. Painter points out that the addition is incorrect. Isidore did not write of "Cyclopedes" but of two different monsters the names of which may have been conflated: "Cyclopes," that is, one-eyed giants, and of "Sciopodes," that is, "shade-feet."[33]

#22+22a, VDW 6:4

> their legs also are covered and they have helmets and cuirasses. Some make (habent) *cuirasses, and protection for their horses*, of leather in the following manner: they take strips of ox-hide, *or of the skin of another animal*, a hand's breadth wide and cover three or four together with pitch . . . .

Comment: Beazley mentions the first addition, "cuirasses . . . horses," but does not mention the second, "or . . . animal."

32 See, e.g., John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), pp. 24–25.

33 Painter, "Tartar Relation," p. 76; *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi. Etymologiarum sive originum*, ed. W. H. Lindsay, 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon, 1911, vol. 2, book 11, chap. 3, sec. 13, 16, and 23 (Painter's reference to ch. 35 ¶24 appears not to be correct).

#22b, VDW 6:7

The upper part of the helmet is of iron *or of steel* (*calibe*), but the part affording protection to the neck and throat is of leather.

#23, VDW 6:8

they make a number of thin plates of the metal, a finger's breadth wide and a hand's breadth in length, piercing eight little holes in each plate; as a foundation they put three strong narrow straps; they then place the plates one on top of the other so that they overlap, and they tie them to the straps by narrow thongs, *which they thread through the afore-mentioned holes; at the top they attach a thong*, so that the metal plates hold together firmly and well.

#23a, VDW 6:9

The length of their arrows is two feet, one palm, and two digits (digitorum). *Since feet are not all the same, we will give the measurement of a geometrical foot. The length of a digit* (*pollicis*) *is two grains of barley, and sixteen digits* (*pollices*) *make one geometrical foot.* The heads of the arrows are very sharp and cut on both sides like a two-edged sword.

Comment: This addition is, to all appearances, a scribal gloss, which interrupts the flow of the narrative.

#23b, VDW 6:10

They have a shield made of wicker or twigs, *but I do not think* (*credimus*) *they carry it except in camp* (*ad castra*) *and when guarding the Emperor and the princes, and this only at night.* They also have other arrows for shooting birds . . . .

#25, VDW 6:14

However, it should be known that, if they can avoid it, the Tatars do not like to fight hand to hand but they wound and kill men and horses with their arrows; *they only come to close quarters when men and horses have been weakened by arrows.*

#26b, VDW 7:4

indeed it is the general rule for all, even the very slaves, to pester them [rulers of countries when they come] with requests for gifts, and this applies not only to the rulers themselves, but also to their envoys sent *by those more powerful to those rulers* (et non solum ab ipsis, sed etiam a nunciis eorum *qui a potioribus* mittuntur *ad ipsos*).

#26c, VDW 7:6

They place basqaqs, *or prefects*, of their own . . . .

#29, VDW 8:4

> Last March, *we came upon an army levied* (*exercitum invenimus indictum*) *from all the Tatars among whom we travelled to the land of Rus'* (*ad terram Ruscie*).

Comment: The second-redaction words replace the following words, which appear in the first redaction: "they left from their own land" (*se de terra sua moverunt*).

#30b, VDW 8:6

> And if they [the inhabitants] shut themselves up in fortresses, they [the Tatars] put three or four thousand men *or more* (*aut plures*) around the fortress or city to besiege it.

Type 1c: Direct Quotation

#8, VDW 4:7

> They eat even the flow (*alluviones* [V: *illuviones*]) that comes out of mares when they bring forth foals. Indeed, we have seen them eating lice. *They would say, "Why should I not eat them since they eat the flesh of my son and drink his blood?"* I have also seen them eat mice.

Comment: Here the quotation is in the form of a gratuitous apologia for eating lice, whereas no such justification appears for the other dietary habits of the Tatars. Smith has called Carpini's description of the dietary habits of the Tatars "sensationalized and disapproving."[34] But, when read in the context of the entire passage, one is hard put to find any overt sign of disapproval in Carpini's description. Instead, one could call it relatively "matter-of-fact" or "straight-forward."

#10, VDW 5:7

> When this came to the ears of the Emperor of the Kitayans he went to meet them with his army, and a hard battle was fought in which the Mongols were defeated and all the Mongol nobles in that army were killed with the exception of seven. *This gives rise to the fact that, when anyone threatens them saying "If you invade that country you will be killed, for a vast number of people live there and they are men skilled in the art of fighting," they still give answer, "Once upon a time indeed we were killed; but seven of us were left. Now we have increased to a great multitude, so we are not afraid of such men."*

[34] John Masson Smith, Jr., "Mongol Campaign Rations: Milk, Marmots, and Blood?" *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 8 (1984): 224.

#12, VDW 5:13

The dogs, however, springing upon them, bit them, wounding and killing many of them, and in this way they finished them off. *This gave rise to a proverb among them: "Your father or brother was killed by the dogs." The women they captured they took to their country and they were there until they died.*

Comment: See also Type 1a, #11a.

#31, VDW 8:15

it is written: "A wise man shall hear and be wiser; and he that understandeth shall possess governments."

Comment: See Type 1a, #31.

TYPE 2: NEW, NEUTRAL INFORMATION

#2, VDW 1:1

In the first we will speak of the country, in the second of the people, in the third of their religion, in the fourth of their customs, in the fifth of their empire, in the sixth of their wars, in the seventh of the countries that they have subjugated to their dominion, in the eighth of how war should be waged against them, *and in the last of the journey we made, of the court of the Emperor, and of the eye-witnesses we came across in the land of the Tatars.*

Comment: This addition, which alludes to chapter nine of the second redaction, could be argued to represent that part of his account that Carpini had not been able to finish before returning to Lyons. Chapter nine is over 45 percent as long as the first eight chapters combined, and it might be argued that a relatively sedentary living style was better for writing about a journey than while riding on a horse during the return trip. The reason that I categorize this addition under the rubric of adding neutral information is that it does not jar with the rest of the text at this point. It could have been added by the author.

#4a, VDW 2:8

They are extremely rich in animals, camels, oxen, sheep, goats; they have such a number of horses and mares that I do not believe there are so many in all the rest of the world; they do not have pigs or other farm animals. *The Emperor, the nobles, and other important men own large quantities of gold, silver, silk, precious stones, and jewels.*

Comment: This addition provides only weak evidence for Carpini's being its author. Coming as it does at the end of a chapter devoted to how typical

Tatars live, it can be considered jarring to the narrative and the sense of this chapter. Also, one could suppose that any scribe could have added this insertion. It is not the kind of information that is dependent upon the writer's having first-hand knowledge. Absent in all first-redaction copies (BPVLTO), it does appear in S.

#5, VDW 3:2

> Some put them [idols] in a beautiful covered cart before the door of their dwelling and if anyone steals anything from that cart he is put to death without any mercy. *When they wish to make these idols, all the chief ladies in the different dwellings meet together and reverently make them; and when they have finished they kill a sheep and eat it and burn its bones in the fire. Also when any child is ill they make an idol as I have described and fasten it above his bed.* Chiefs, captains of a thousand men, and captains of a hundred always have a shrine (*hercium* in 2nd redaction; *hyrcum* in 1st redaction) in the middle of their dwelling.

Comment: The second-redaction addition fits relatively smoothly into the narrative flow of the first redaction. The insertion is not anti-Tatar in tone, but neutrally descriptive. It could be argued that Carpini had remembered more about their manner of worship and wished to fill in the text.

TYPE 3a: CONTRADICTS OR RADICALLY ALTERS TEXT

#6, VDW 3:6

> Since they observe no law with regard to the worship of God they have up to now, *so we understood* [#5a], compelled no one to deny his faith or law *with the exception of Michael of whom we have just spoken. What they may ultimately do we do not know, but there are some who are of the opinion that, if they became sole rulers, which God forbid, they would make everyone bow down to that idol.*

Comment: In the first redaction, the meaning is clear: the Tatars have not tried to convert anyone away from their own religion. The editor of the second-redaction notices that Carpini has just mentioned Michael who suffered for his faith. Therefore, he sees at least one exception. Then the editor decides to throw in the opinion that if the Tatars ruled they would force everyone to convert. The reassuring words of the first redaction are transformed into a threat in the second redaction.

#7a, VDW 3:13

> They have a different method of burying their chief men. They go in secret into the open country and there they remove the grass, roots

> and all, and they dig a large pit.... The dead man they place in the grave made in the side along with the things mentioned above. Then they fill the pit in front of his grave, and they put the grass over it as it was before so that no one may be able to discover the spot afterwards. The other things already described they also do, *but his tent (tentorium) they leave above ground in the open.*

Comment: If they are so careful to hide the spot of burial, one wonders why they would leave the tent above ground. It would seem also to contradict the reference to "the things mentioned above," which include "one of his [the dead man's] dwellings (*stationibus*)." The *stationes* could only have meant a tent since Carpini himself describes it as "*rotundas in modum tentorii*" (VDW 2:6). This addition may be an attempt by the editor to harmonize the text in some way with the statement in VDW 3:15, which states that when "anyone is killed by a thunderbolt... no one touches his tent, his bed, cart, felt, clothes, or any other such things as he had; but they are spurned by all as unclean." Also, one notes that the statement "The other things already described they also do" would seem to "sign off" this paragraph, making the addition gratuitous.

#11, VDW 5:12

> Chingis sent another son with an army to attack the Indians, and he conquered Lesser India.... This army advanced to make war on the Christians in Greater India. Hearing this, the king of that country, commonly called Prester John, assembled an army and went to meet them; and he made figures of men out of copper and set them in saddles on horses, putting fire inside them; and he placed men with bellows on the horses behind the copper figures, and with many such figures and horses fitted up like this they advanced to fight the Tatars. When they reached the battleground, they sent forward these horses, one next to the other, while the men behind put I know not what on to the fire in the figures and blew hard with the bellows. As a result *horses and men were burned up by Greek fire and* the air was black with smoke. They then shot arrows at the Tatars that wounded and killed many of them.

Comment: Here the meaning of the original is changed to such an extent that it is doubtful the person who wrote the text is the same as the person who edited it. One notes that the term "Greek fire" appears only in the second-redaction addition. Without that addition, the meaning of the text is clear. The fire within the copper figures created a smoke screen: "As a result, the air was black with smoke." Behind this smoke screen, the army moved into position where it was able to shoot arrows, thus killing and

wounding many Tatars. The second-redaction editor apparently misunderstood the meaning of the text, saw the words "copper" and "fire," remembered that Greek fire was said to have been dispersed through metal tubes,[35] and reached the conclusion that the author meant it was Greek fire being used against the Tatars and that it burned up "horses and men." But it is not clear whether the horses and men that were burned up were Tatar horses and men or those of Prester John. The author of *TR* changes the material of the figures from copper to bronze and iron, and incorporates the second-redaction idea that these were flame throwers, not smoke screen producers (*TR* ¶17).

#13, VDW 5:15

> Chingis Khan also went with an expedition towards the west through the land of the Kergis, whom he did not conquer, and, *so we were told there,* he reached as far as the Caspian Mountains. The mountains *in that part towards which they were directing their course* are of loadstone. Consequently, they attracted their arrows and iron weapons. The inhabitants [were] hemmed in by the Caspian Mountains *hearing, it is believed, the noise of the army, began to break through a mountain, and when the Tatars came back that way on another occasion ten years later, they found the mountain broken in pieces. When the Tatars, however, tried to get at them, they could not,* for a cloud lay ahead of them, beyond which they could in no way progress, for as soon as they reached it they lost all power of sight. *Those on the opposite side, however, believing that the Tatars were afraid of attacking them, but as soon as they reached the cloud they could go no further, for the reason already given.* Before reaching the aforesaid mountains the Tatars travelled for more than a month through a vast wilderness.

Comment: This addition changes the meaning of the text into almost the exact opposite of the first redaction. In the first redaction, the inhabitants of the Caspian Mountains cannot leave because they are hemmed in by mountains and by a cloud that instills blindness in them. In the second redaction, the inhabitants are hemmed in only by the Caspian Mountains. When they hear the sound of the Tatar army, they break through a mountain, but the

[35] For an analysis of the means of dispersing Greek fire, see J. Haldon and M. Byrne, "A Possible Solution to the Problem of Greek Fire," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 70 (1977): 91–99. Their discussion of the technical expertise required of the operator(s) and their diagram (on p. 95) of a Greek Fire device make it unlikely such a device could have been placed and used on the back of a horse.

Tatars cannot get at them because the cloud instills blindness in the Tatars when they reach it. Given the rather dramatic representation of this conflict, one finds it somewhat surprising that the second-redaction editor then ends this scene by returning to a statement of how long it took the Tatars to reach these mountains. In the first redaction, the narrative remains focused on the Tatars' travels and mentions this peculiar problem of the inhabitants of the Caspian Mountains only in passing. The author of *TR* again incorporates the notion of the second redaction and characteristically expands on it: "Whenever the Tartars advanced toward the cloud, they were struck blind, and some were even smitten dead . . ." (*TR* ¶15).

#15 VDW 5:18–19

> Another decree is that they are to bring the whole world into subjection to them, nor are they to make peace with any nation unless they first submit to them, until the time for their own slaughter shall come. *They have fought now for forty-two years and they are due to rule for another eighteen years. After that, so they say, they are to be conquered by another nation, though they do not know which.* This has been foretold them.

Comment: The first-redaction text is rather vague, timewise, about when the Tatars will subdue the world, and when they in turn will be subdued. Such a prediction is not hopeful for those who might join in the fight against the Tatars. Why fight the Tatars if it has been foretold that the Tatars will win? By putting a time limit on how long the Tatars will rule, most of which time has already been used up, the second-redaction editor sends a hopeful message to the enemies of the Tatars: that is, their terror will not last much longer, so join in the fight, and we will be victorious in a relatively short time. One also notes that the number of years mentioned here for the remaining years of their rule harmonizes with the number of years that "[t]hey will come prepared to fight without a break," stated in chapter eight.[36] Once again, the author of *TR* picks up an idea from the second redaction, restates it in different words, and develops it further: "The Tatars are coming to fight for eighteen years in succession .... although they know they must be slain meanwhile by the Christians, but do not know the day or the country in which God has ordained this" (*TR* ¶33).

#15b, VDW 5:20

> This one [Chingis] moreover had four sons. One was called Occodai, the second Tossuc Khan, another Chiaaday, and the name of the

36 VDW 8:4; Carpini, "History," p. 44.

> fourth we do not know. *All the Mongol chiefs are descended from these four. The first, namely, Occodai Khan, had the following sons: the eldest is* Cuyuc, who is the present Emperor, and Cocten and Chirenum, and I do no know if he had any more sons.

Comment: The words of the second redaction replace these words of the first redaction: "These same four sons with other elders (*cum aliis maioribus*) who were there at that time chose the first son, namely, Occoday, as Emperor. Now the sons of this Occoday are:".

#16a, VDW 5:26

> This city [Ornas] was moreover filled with great wealth for it is situated on a river that *flows through Iankint and the land of the Bisermins* [1st red.: is called the Don] and runs into the sea . . . .

Comment: Both Karamzin and D'Avezac have suggested that Ornas may be the city of Tana at the mouth of the Don.[37] The problem here for the second-redaction editor is that, according to medieval geography, the Don was not supposed to flow into the sea, but to flow into the Volga instead.[38] Therefore, the editor may have hypercorrectly eliminated the name of that river and added the course of another river, which may have been the Syr Darya (if we follow Rockhill) or the Amu Darya (if we follow Frähn or Painter).[39] It is noteworthy that whatever mistakes in geography appear in *YM* are only in the second redaction.

#19b, VDW 5:34

> They pushed on further, subduing, and conquering as far as the country of the Sultan of Aleppo, of which they are at the present moment *taking possession, and it is their intention to attack* [1st red.: attacking] *other countries beyond this*. Never up to the present day have they returned to their own country.

Comment: The meaning of the passage is altered to remind the European reader of the continued threat from the Tatars.

[37] N. M. Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstva rossiiskogo*, 12 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1892), 4:2 (fn. 4); D'Avezac, *Relation des Mongols*, pp. 505–511.

[38] William Woodville Rockhill, *The Journey of William of Rubruck* (London, 1900), p. 34 (fn. 4).

[39] Rockhill, *Journey of William of Rubruck*, p. 14. C. M. Frähn, *Ibn-Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über Russen älterer Zeit* (St. Petersburg, 1823), p. 162. Painter, "Tartar Relation," p. 102. Both Rockhill and Painter confuse the Orpar of chapter nine (VDW 9:23) with the Ornas of chapter five.

#26, VDW 6:15

> sometimes they even take the fat of the people they kill and, melting it, throw it on to the houses, and wherever the fire falls on this fat it is almost inextinguishable. *It can, however, be put out, so they say, if wine or ale is poured on it. If it falls on flesh, it can be put out by being rubbed with the palm of the hand.*

Comment: The first-redaction author wants to tell the reader of the dangers of this fat when it is on fire. The second-redaction editor wants to assure the reader that the fire can be extinguished, which fits in with the apparent editorial intention to encourage Europeans to fight the Tatars and not to fear them. Tatars can be beaten.

#28, VDW 7:11

> They [the Saracen peasants] store all their crops in the barns of their masters, *who, however, allow them seed and as much as will furnish them with a reasonable living. In the case of others* they give to each a very small quantity *of bread* every day and nothing else, except the small amount of meat with which they provide them three times a week, and this they do only for those workers who live in the towns.

Comment: In the first redaction, the peasants are described as getting only "a very small quantity [of seed]" from their masters. In the second redaction, they get "as much as will furnish them a reasonable living"; "others" get a small amount of bread.

#30a, VDW 8:6

> there is no province able to resist them by itself, *unless God fight on its side*, for as has already been said, men are collected together from every country to fight under their dominion.

Comment: Here the divine intervention interrupts the flow of the sentence. It is clear that the clause that begins "for as has already been said . . ." belongs as an explanation for why no province is able to resist them, and not for why a province might win if God is on their side.

TYPE 3b: ANTI-TATAR REMARKS

#4, VDW 2:2

> In appearance the Tatars are quite different from all other men, for they are broader than other people between the eyes and across the cheek-bones. Their cheeks also are rather prominent above their jaws; *they have a flat and small nose, their eyes are little and their eyelids raised up to the eyebrows.* For the most part, but with a few

exceptions, they are slender about the waist; almost all are of medium height.

Comment: One notes that the first-redaction author is carefully about his choice of adjectives: "broader" (*plus . . . lati*), "prominent" (*prominent*), "slender" (*graciles*), "medium" (*mediocris*), and so forth. The second-redaction editor feels no compunction at using such potentially pejorative adjectives as "flat" (*plenum*), "small" (*modicum*), "little" (*parvos*), and it is not clear what is meant by "eyelids raised up to the eyebrows" (*palpebras usque ad supercilia elevatas*). The same phrase occurs later in this paragraph in the first redaction: "the tonsure they allow to grow until it reaches their eyebrows" (*usque ad supercilia*). See also *TR* where: "On the forehead, however, they wear their hair in a crescent-shaped fringe reaching to the eyebrows . . . ." (*usque ad supercilia [TR* ¶36]). Compare Rubruck's: "they leave a tuft of hair, which hangs down to the eyebrows" (*usque ad supercilia*).[40]

#14, VDW 5:16

In the meantime, however, they [the underground people] assembled by secret, underground routes and coming to fight against the Tatars, they suddenly rushed upon them and killed many of them. They, that is to say Chingis Khan and his followers, *realized that they could gain nothing but rather would lose men, and in addition to this, they could not bear the sound of the sun—indeed at the time when the sun was rising they were obliged to place one ear on the ground and stop up the other completely so as not to hear that terrible noise, and yet even by taking these measures they were unable to prevent many of them from meeting their death on account of it—so they* took to flight and left the country.

Comment: This second-redaction addition appears to be merely a literary allusion, and is an expansion and transformation of Carpini's first-redaction description of the people who live underground. The sun in Christian symbolism represents truth.[41] The second-redaction editor may have wanted to indicate that, because Chingis Khan's followers "could not bear the sound of the sun," they could not bear to hear the truth. In the first redaction, only the underground men cannot stand the noise of the sun's rising and then only at a particular season. The second-redaction editor changes the story

40 "Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruc," in *Sinica Franciscana*, 1:182; and "Journey of William of Rubruck," in *Mongol Mission*, p. 102.

41 James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, rev. ed. (New York, 1979), p. 292. For literary parallels, see Painter, "Tartar Relation," p. 65 (fn. 5).

so that both the underground men at a particular season *and* the Tatars, apparently without limit to a season, cannot "bear the sound of the sun." But then, he feels obligated to remind the reader that he has already stated that the Tatars had this problem (see Type 1b, #14a). One notes the humiliating posture that the second-redaction editor puts the Tatars in with one ear to the ground and the other ear opposite the ground stopped up. It would seem to be just as easy for the Tatars to stop up both ears while standing or while sitting on their horses. This addition then would seem to have been made in an attempt to make the Tatars appear ridiculous. The author of *TR* writes: "the Tatars threw themselves face downward on the ground at the noise of the rising sun, and many of them died on the spot" (*TR* ¶13). Once again he seems to feel free to improvise on a second-redaction change.

#24, VDW 6:11

> The army follows after them, taking everything they come across, and they take prisoner or kill any inhabitants who are to be found. *Not content with this, the chiefs of the army next send plunderers in all directions to find men and animals, and they are most ingenious at searching them out.*

Comment: Could be either repetitious or neutral, new information. I place it here because it seems to emphasize the threat that the Tatars pose.

Type 3c: Personal Detail

#7, VDW 3:12

> And they bury with him a mare and her foal and a horse with bridle and saddle, and another horse they eat and fill its skin with straw, and this they stick up on two or four poles, so that in the next world he may have a dwelling in which to make his abode and a mare to provide him with milk, and that he may be able to increase his horses and have horses on which to ride. *The bones of the horse that they eat they burn for his soul; and also the women often assemble to burn bones for the men's souls, as we saw with our own eyes and learned from others there. We also saw that Occodai Khan, the father of the present Emperor, left behind a grove to grow for his soul, and he ordered that no one was to cut there, and anyone who cuts a twig there, as we ourselves saw, is beaten, stripped, and maltreated. And when we were in great need of something with which to whip our horse, we did not dare to cut a switch from there.* They also bury gold and silver in the same way with a dead man; the cart in which he rides is broken up and his dwelling destroyed, nor does anyone dare to pronounce his name until the third generation.

Comment: The insertion of personal detail here disrupts the narrative flow. The editor is attempting to confirm the reliability of the information through personal testimony, that is, by asserting that this is something "we saw with our own eyes and learned from others there" and "[w]hat we also saw" as well as "as we ourselves saw" and "we did not dare."

#12c, VDW 5:14

> They [the inhabitants of Burithabet] do not grow beards, indeed they carry in their hands, *as we saw* (*sicut vidimus*), an iron instrument, with which they always pluck their beards if any hair happens to grow there, and they are exceedingly misshapen.

Comment: If Burithabet is Tibet, as Beazley and Dawson indicate,[42] then it is not likely that Carpini saw them since his path of travel took him far to the north of Tibet.[43]

#15a, VDW 5:19

> *He* [Chingis] *also decreed many other things that it would be tedious to tell of, and in any case I do not know what they are.*

Comment: This unenlightening statement seems out of character for Carpini. At no other place in the narrative does he beg off from describing something because it might be tedious or boring to the reader. The gratuitous admission of ignorance is in sharp contrast to the subsequent paragraph (VDW 5:20) where Carpini in the first redaction, while describing the dynasty of the Chingissids, is very precise about what he knows and does not know. In that paragraph, he mentions three sons of Ogödäi (Occoday), but informs the reader that he does not know if Ogödäi had more sons. He tells the reader the names of six sons of Jöchi (Tosucccan), but likewise informs the reader that he does not know the names of his other sons. He names the sons of Jagatai (Chiaaday) that he knows but again informs the reader that he does not know the names of his other children. He does not know the name of Chingis's other son. He mentions the names of three sons of this other son, but again is very precise in informing the reader that "he had a number of other sons, but I do not know their names." Elsewhere, Carpini, after offering a list of forty-three countries the Tatars had conquered, writes: "There are many other countries, but I do not know their names" (VDW 7:9). In each case, his admission of ignorance is not

42 Beazley, *Texts and Versions*, pp. 280–81; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 23 (fn. 1).

43 See "Route Map of John of Pian de Carpine and William of Rubruck 1246–1255," in Rockhill, *Journey*.

gratuitous but necessary in order not to lead the reader astray. One cannot say the same about #15a.

#17, VDW 5:27

Subduing this country, they attacked Rus', where they made great havoc, destroying cities and fortresses and slaughtering men; and they laid siege to Kiev, the capital of Rus'; after they had besieged the city for a long time, they took it and put the inhabitants to death. *When we were journeying through that land we came across countless skulls and bones of dead men lying about on the ground. Kiev had been a very large and thickly populated town, but now it has been reduced almost to nothing, for there are at the present time scarce two hundred houses there and the inhabitants are kept in complete servitude.* Going on from there, fighting as they went, the Tatars destroyed the whole of Rus'.

Comment: The same phrase "we came across countless skulls and bones of dead men lying about on the ground" is also used by the second-redaction editor in VDW 9:22, that is, in the ninth chapter to describe the land of the Kangli Turks and of the Cumans.[44]

#28a, VDW 8:3

In our view (*nobis videtur*), these instructions ought on no account to be observed . . . .

#32, VDW 9:1–52

The Countries Through which We Passed, Their Position, the Witnesses We Came Across, and the Court of the Emperor of the Tartars and His Princes. . . . In addition, there are as witnesses the merchants from Vratislavia, who accompanied us as far as Kiev . . . . and also many other merchants, both from Poland and from Austria, who arrived at Kiev after we had gone to the Tatars. Further witnesses are the merchants from Constantinople who came to Rus' via the Tatars and were in Kiev when we returned from the land of the Tatars. The names of these merchants are as follows: Michael the Genoese and Bartholomew, Manuel the Venetian, James Reverius of Acre, Nicolas Pisani are the chief; the less important are: Mark, Henry, John, Vasius, another Henry Bonadies, Peter Paschami. There were many others. . . .

[44] For a discussion of this passage, see my "Why Did the Metropolitan Move from Kiev to Vladimir in the Thirteenth Century?" *California Slavic Studies* (forthcoming).

Comment: The entire ninth chapter is a personal account of the trip. However, none of the information in it is dependent on the author's having been there. Whatever reliable information it contains could have been obtained from other sources available at the time. It also contains inaccuracies of a type not found in the first redaction. For example, anyone who had travelled that way would have known that the Volga River does not flow into the Black Sea (VDW 9:13); Jerusalem, Baghdad, and the whole country of the Saracens are to the southwest, not south, while the land of the Black Kityans and the ocean are to the northeast, not north of the land of the Bisermins (Musulmans);[45] Burin and Cadan are not brothers (VDW 9:23), but cousins; the depiction of the Naimans as pagans (VDW 9:27) is contradicted by William of Rubruck;[46] it was *not* "the custom of the Emperor ... never to speak to a foreigner" (VDW 9:42);[47] it is not likely that Guyuk was "forty or forty-five years old or more" (VDW 9:43) when he ascended to the throne for his father Ogödäi was only in his fifties when he died;[48] and the mention of so many merchants in Kiev (VDW 9:51) would seem to contradict the description of Kiev as having been completely devastated (VDW 5:27). Why would merchants go to a devastated city? Descriptions of a personal nature, which is what the entire last chapter is, seems to be totally antithetical to Carpini's style, but not of the style of the second-redaction editor, as we have seen.

What kind of profile might we draw of this editor, based on the characteristics of the insertions and their differences from the first redaction? The editor wants to arouse resistance against the Tatars whom he sees as a continuing threat (#19b, VDW 5:34) and who, he argues, will try to convert Christians (#6, VDW 3:6). Carpini's first-redaction text is more fatalistic—they cannot be beaten and they will rule for an indefinite period of time, but they will not try to convert Christians. The second-redaction editor says that they will rule only eighteen more years (#15, VDW 5:18–19) and that they will be beaten, in particular, by those on whose side

[45] This inaccuracy prompted Beazley to remark: "Carpini's directions are somewhat astray here, but usually they are fairly accurate and better then Rubruquis'." Beazley, *Texts and Versions*, p. 291. That is, "usually they are fairly accurate" in the first redaction.

[46] See van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 1:206; Rockhill, *Journey of William of Rubruck*, p. 110; "Journey of William of Rubruck," in *Mongol Mission*, p. 122.

[47] C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-khan jusqu'a Timour bey ou Tamerlan*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1852), 2:217–18.

[48] Beazley states that Ogödäi was fifty-six. Beazley, *Texts and Versions*, p. 293 (fn. 7). Vernadsky claims that he "must have been about fifty-one at the time of his death." George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, 5 vols. (New Haven, 1943–1969), 3: *The Mongols and Russia*, p. 58.

God is (#30a, VDW 8:6). Where Carpini states that the human fat the Tatars burn is almost inextinguishable, the second-redaction editor assures the reader that it can be put out in various ways (#26, VDW 6:15). In terms of style, the second-redaction editor incorporates personal comments about what he claims to have seen and inserts direct quotations as well as makes literary references to the Bible and, incorrectly, to Isidore of Seville. The style of the author of the first redaction fits closer to Salimbene's description of Carpini: "Brother John was a down-to-earth man."[49] In terms of point of view, the second-redaction editor is more blatantly anti-Tatar in his descriptions and comments (#4, VDW 2:2; #14, VDW 5:16). The second-redaction editor "corrects" first-redaction text in regard to geography (#16a, VDW 5:26); and reports landmarks in the ninth chapter according to the bookish understanding of medieval geography (VDW 9:13). He also seems not to have understood well the Latin of the first redaction.

It could be argued that Carpini might have been under pressure to alter his text to be more openly hostile to the Mongols, especially after the apparent failure of his mission to reach an accommodation with them. That explanation would certainly account for the three additions of Type 3b. And it could be argued that Carpini might have "corrected" his own geographical perceptions when he found them in conflict with book knowledge of the time. But, anyone who holds the view that Carpini was the editor of the second redaction should have to account for the additions of Type 3a, where Carpini seems not to have understood his own first-redaction text. The two voices contained in the second redaction most likely represent two different individuals: Carpini and an unknown, and heretofore unacknowledged, editor.[50]

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[49] Salimbene da Parma, *Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, p. 197. Luciano Petech, although using the second-redaction edition of van den Wyngaert, remarks about Carpini's "coolness": "He inquires, finds facts and expresses judgements with something of that cool, unmoved, acute penetration which later on was to characterize ... the Venetian ambassadors of the Renaissance." But, Petech notes a change in style in the ninth chapter where "this matter-of-factness wears thin." Luciano Petech, "Friar John of Pian del Carpine, Papal Legate to the Mongol Qaghan," *East and West*, 5 (1955): 274.

[50] I am grateful to Alexander Murray for his helpful suggestions. Any mistakes that remain are entirely my own.

The Primary Door: At the Threshold of Skovoroda's Theology and Poetics

NATALIA PYLYPIUK

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The philosophical dimension of Hryhorij Skovoroda's works has been either placed within the context of mystical systems or analyzed from the perspective of the Enlightenment. But, although his entire oeuvre is informed with the arguments that in the humanistic trivium served to sanction literary exercises, Skovoroda's relationship to Humanism and, especially, to humanistic pedagogical procedures has attracted marginal attention.

Skovoroda's compositional strategies bear the clear imprint of *copia verborum* and imitation, the very exercises Humanist scholars designed to enrich the vocabulary of their charges and elicit varied forms of expression from them.[1] His prose in particular is permeated with techniques taught to pupils when they studied Latin. By resorting to adages, emblems, symbols, hieroglyphics, parables, and fables, Skovoroda imitates the methods trivial instructors employed to direct their pupils toward civil and sacred eloquence. His mindset, moreover, is informed with attitudes typical of the humanistic school's elementary program and the theory of *pietas litterata*: preference is given to a small set of antique authors who serve as models of good speech and ethical behavior; he affirms poetry only inasmuch as it serves moral goals; for him the Bible remains the paramount classical text.[2]

[1] Humanist pedagogical strategies such as *copia verborum*, imitation exercises, and others are discussed by R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries: From the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance* (New York, 1964), pp. 270–72, 337–40. Skovoroda-the-preceptor did not shy away from these strategies; we have evidence that, when teaching the rhetorical art of invention, Skovoroda—like countless trivium instructors before him—recommended the notebook-keeping method developed by the Humanists (see his *Excerpendi modus* in *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*, 2 vols. [Kiev, 1973], 2: 423–24. For an overview of humanistic procedures adopted by Ukrainian preceptors, see my "The Humanistic School and Ukrainian Literature of the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1989), pp. 151–90.

[2] The origins and development of *pietas litterata* are described by Bolgar, *Classical Heritage*, pp. 337–40. See my dissertation (pp. 208–40) for a discussion of this theory in early-modern Ukrainian pedagogy.

Finally, the guiding premise of Skovoroda's works does not depart from the triune goal with which humanistic preceptors inculcated their *neopoetas*: instructing, delighting, and persuading.

In one important respect, however, Skovoroda's understanding of literature represents a rebellion against the neo-Latin poetics of the humanistic educational establishment. Like the source from which it drew, the school recension of the Humanist theory of art was, in essence, didactic and reflected the Renaissance fusion of poetics and rhetoric. Relying as it did on the epideictic branch of oratory, the theory sanctioned the idealization of actual (i.e., historical) individuals according to the probabilities of moral philosophy (i.e., what ought to have happened). In this manner, the theory complemented the pedagogic objective of shaping character through the stimuli of praise and blame. Reflecting the compromise that had been reached during the polemics of the sixteenth century, the theory did not promote poetic fiction per se. Although it did grant poets the right to exercise "invention" when embellishing true episodes and creating new ones, the theory encouraged—first of all—the selection of historical material and the creation of credible narratives. Over the fabular, or fictional, the theory elevated verisimilitude of invention (i.e., the strategy of persuading an audience through the portrayal of "believable" events). In conjunction with this, the theory emphasized *actiones humanas* or *gesta* as the preeminent subject matter of poetry.[3] It is this aspect of school poetics that Skovoroda vehemently rejected. For him verisimilitude of invention did not represent the pivotal criterion of poetry. Instead, Skovoroda maintained that the true poet or "maker" of plots concealed and revealed the profoundest philosophical truths. He consistently divorced the fabular, or fictional, in literary creation from any association with *actiones humanas* or *gesta*. For this reason, he condemned the creation of "images," "patterns," "examples," or "exemplary mirrors" of virtue portraying idealized individuals. Consequently, when Skovoroda cited the traditional exculpation of poets from the charge that they are liars, he did not point at verisimilitude of invention but upheld a unique type of imitation.

This paper focuses on Skovoroda's prose. It argues that an essentially Humanist understanding of the origin and function of language led him to conjoin—into one indivisible whole—the theory of art with antischolastic

[3] O. B. Hardison, Jr., treats sixteenth-century literary polemics and ensuing didactic theories of art in *The Enduring Monument. A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962), pp. 7–59. The impact of West European didactic theories of art on Kiev school poetics is summarized on pp. 315–29 of my dissertation.

theology. The paper also proposes that Skovoroda's approach may have been informed by the evangelical humanism of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1465–1536), the very man who significantly influenced the pedagogical procedures of the early-modern trivium and attempted to recast theology from its traditional philosophical mode into a grammatical one.

1.1 SKOVORODA'S PROSE AND THE METHODS OF THE TRIVIUM

Although Skovoroda was, in many ways, a typical product of his alma mater, as an instructor he differed from the men trained at the Kiev Mohyla Academy. Despite the fact that he was courted by the black clergy and counted numerous friends within its ranks, he never completed his theology course and refused to take monastic orders. By refusing to do so, Skovoroda forfeited the right to become a full-time teacher, a profession which he loved. As a matter of fact, he frequently ran afoul of the educational establishment, which intermittently hired him at various levels of the trivium.

Skovoroda possessed considerable poetic talent but did not write much poetry. His highly introspective and lyrical poetry is organized into a "garden" of thirty "divine songs" which reflect the affairs of the secular world only tangentially, if at all. Attracted as he was to literary activity, Skovoroda—like most graduates of the Kiev Mohyla Academy—never sought to publish his own works. Two-thirds of his divine songs were written in the period when he held regular teaching assignments (1750–1764). Once he gave up all hope of teaching, Skovoroda became an itinerant philosopher and concentrated on prose. He wrote fifteen of *The Kharkiv Fables* (*Басни харьковскія*) by 1769; the other fifteen were written in 1774. Skovoroda began writing other prose works—i.e., tracts and colloquies—at approximately the time he was expelled from the Kharkiv Collegium in 1769. In fact, the majority of his writings was composed during the last twenty-five years of his life.

In his prose Skovoroda frequently assumes the role of preceptor and—in true humanistic fashion—upholds the preeminence of philological and moral training. The practical sciences play merely a secondary role in his "curriculum." For example, in *The Circle: A Friendly Conversation on the Spiritual World* (*Кольцо: Дружескій разговор о душевном мирѣ*, mid-1770s), Skovoroda complains that students leave school equipped with arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography, but are ignorant of Plato, Socrates, Solon, Pythagoras, and Cicero. He is especially vexed that the

antique authors—above all Moses and the prophets—are neglected, misunderstood, and treated as superstitious charlatans.[4]

Skovoroda's writings can be viewed as the product of a man who was barred from his beloved profession, teaching, and grasped every opportunity to hold school. But, unlike the work of a typical professional philosopher, his oeuvre always implies an audience. In his dedicatory statements Skovoroda discusses a variety of questions, from genre to etymology. In the course of this, he coaxes and exhorts, even anticipates that his offerings will bring delight or dispel his recipient's despondency. The letter accompanying *The Circle*, for example, expresses the hope that this colloquy will lead Vladŷmyr Tevjašov to read the Bible with pleasure and perspicacity ("со вкусом и примечаніем"). Skovoroda's humanistic ideals and pedagogical inclination are fused into one in the dedication accompanying *A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades," i.e., The Icon of Alcibiades,* (***Книжечка, называемая*** *"Silenus Alcibiadis,"* ***сирѣчь Икона Алківіадская***, 1776). Addressed to Vladŷmyr's father, Colonel Stepan Tevjašov, this letter encourages the elder Tevjašov to imitate Cicero's Cato and find time for banquets devoted to pleasant and spiritually fulfilling colloquy. Skovoroda does not hesitate to remind the colonel that it behooves men of status to orient themselves toward God and to combat superstition (2: 7).

Skovoroda's dedicatory letters and the characters "participating" in his colloquies suggest that his immediate audience consisted of a small circle of friends and patrons (acquaintances) who were neither philosophers nor theologians. His addressees included: members of the Tevjašov family (the landowners and military men Stepan Ivanovyč, Vladŷmyr Stepanovyč, and Vasyl' Stepanovyč); the vice-governor Andrij Ivanovyč Kovalevs'kyj; the Kharkiv Collegium instructor and former student Myxajlo Kovalyns'kyj; the lawyer Panas Fedorovyč Pan'kiv. The latter also "participates" in Skovoroda's colloquies under the Slavonic version of his name—Ațanasij. It is possible that the characters Naeman Bar-Petr and Jakov also point to Skovoroda's acquaintances, the townsman Najman Petrovyč and the painter Jakiv Ivanovyč Dolhans'kyj.[5] Yet another "participant" bears the name "Farra." Traditionally, *Fara* referred to the lowest preparatory course in the Kiev trivium. Accordingly, Skovoroda uses the name to portray a naive youth who is confused by scholastic (i.e., quadrivium) teachers and is

[4] *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*, 1: 359. All subsequent references provided in the text also refer to this edition. Similar ideas are expressed in ***Разговор пяти путников о истинном щастіи в жизні*** (1: 337) and in ***Разговор, называемий Алфавит или Букварь мира*** (1: 446).

[5] Leonid Maxnovec', *Hryhorij Skovoroda: Biohrafija* (Kiev, 1972), pp. 218–36.

rather slow in grasping Hryhorij's (i.e., Skovoroda's) interpretations as well as the arguments of the circle's other members.

The extent to which Skovoroda functions within the tradition of the humanistic school is especially evident from the fact that he upholds the authority of the three sacral languages recognized by the Ukrainian educational system since its inception. Consider this: in the dedicatory letter to Vladŷmyr Tevjašov, which accompanied *A Conversation called "The Alphabet or The Primer of the World"* (***Разговор, называемый Алфавит или Букварь мира***, 1775), Skovoroda cites the thematic key of the colloquy—the dictum "Know Thyself"—in Greek, Latin, and Slavonic. Interesting, too, is the fact that in the title he uses the Slavonic word for primer, ***букварь***, in order to narrow the semantic scope of its synonym, the graecisim ***алфавит***.

As a typical product of the humanistic school, Skovoroda does not choose the *prostaja mova* for his tracts and colloquies. Nonetheless, working on the premise that theology is for everyone, Skovoroda—unlike the Latin-oriented theologians of the Kiev Academy—not only opts for Slavonic, but tailors it significantly to suit his informal conversations with "local friends" ("**говорено в бесѣдах с здѣшними пріательми**"). Here we see how the rhetorical situation generates the language of a text: both "participants" and recipients are laymen of different age groups and professional backgrounds. The pedagogical and colloquial nature of the enterprise reinforces his choice of the stylistic mean. And, in consideration of the area where he lives and his ethnically heterogeneous audience, Skovoroda spices his discourse with numerous Ukrainianisms and Russianisms. For his fables, he makes the same linguistic and stylistic choice but allows an even greater number of Ukrainianisms. This was done not necessarily to observe elementary pedagogical practice (namely, to write fables in the vernacular for pupils uninitiated into Latin), but because his fables had a Ukrainian addressee, the lawyer Pan'kiv.

2.0 THE IMITATOR OF THE DIVINE IMAGE AND HIS METAMORPHIC POWER

Skovoroda's prose often reveals, albeit in rather unexpected contexts, his attitude toward the theory of art. The key text, in this respect, is *The Primary Door to Christian Ethics* (***Начальная дверь ко христіанскому добронравію***), a brief work which outlines—to a greater or lesser degree—the thematic content of Skovoroda's lectures on ethics, the last he ever read within an institutional framework. Written in 1768–1769, it was actually edited in 1780, eleven years after his dismissal from the Kharkiv Collegium.

The Primary Door begins with a text entitled "Threshold" ("Преддверіе"), the object of which is to proclaim that all which is necessary in life can be easily accomplished. In the first, rather brief composition, "On God" ("О Богѣ"), Skovoroda declares that the world consists of two natures—one visible, the other invisible. He identifies the latter with God, whom he designates as the "universal mind" ("ум всемірный"). The second text, entitled "On the [Ecumenical] Faith" ("О вѣрѣ [вселенской]"), consists of three short paragraphs. Here Skovoroda states that all the ages and nations have unanimously believed in a mysterious and omnipotent power which permeates through all things. He concludes with the sentence: "Such faith is universal and simple." The third section, entitled "On the Universal Enterprise" ("О промыслѣ общем"), proclaims that divine nature (i.e., invisible nature) infuses life into all matter, and manages the cycle of life and death. This, continues Skovoroda, is called the universal enterprise because it concerns the well-being of all creatures.

The lengthy text that commands our attention next is entitled "On the Particular Enterprise of Man" ("О промыслѣ особенном для человѣка"). Skovoroda initiates this discourse by designating God as the "purest" and "universal mind" of all nations which acts as the source of the arts and wisdom necessary for the exercise of life. The greatest debt of every nation is that this "mind" infused humanity with its supreme wisdom, its own "portrait" and "seal":

> Сей чистѣйшій ум, всемірный, всѣх вѣков и народов всеобщій ум излил нам, как источник, всѣ мудрости и художества, к проводженію житія нужныя.
>
> Но ничем ему так не одолжен всякій народ, как тѣм, что он дал нам самую высочайшую свою премудрость, которая природный его есть портрет и печать. (1: 147; emphasis mine)

Divine wisdom, explains Skovoroda, surpasses all other intelligent spirits and concepts just like a [master's] successor is better than his servants ("превосходит [...] сколько наслѣдник лучше служителей"). It is important to note that, beside meaning "successor," ***наслѣдник*** can signify "one who inherits," "one who follows in the footsteps of a predecessor," and an "imitator," or "emulator."[6] The word ***служитель***, on the other hand, also stands for "minister."[7]

[6] The seventeenth-century lexicographers Epifanij Slavynec'kyj and Arsenij Korec'kyj-Satanovs'kyj document this polysemy in their Slavonic-Latin dictionary. Among the Latin words for НАСЛѢДНИКЪ, they list: "Haeres, Secutor, Imitator, Aemulator." In Slavynec'kyj's Latin-Slavonic dictionary, listed under IMITATIO are "наслѣдование" and "подражание." See V. V. Nimčuk, ed., *Leksykony Je. Slavynec'koho ta A. Korec'koho-Satanovs'koho* (Kiev, 1973).

[7] Slavynec'kyj lists "служитель" under MINISTRATOR, MINISTER; "служба" under MINISTERIUM. See Nimčuk, ed., *Leksykony*.

Skovoroda then states that divine wisdom literally resembles an architectural plan which unfolds imperceptibly throughout a structure and, thus, sustains and stabilizes it. Exploiting the polysemous nature of *корпус*, which means both building and body, he claims that God's wisdom strengthens, and imparts peace and good fortune upon the political edifice by secretly flowing through its human limbs:

> Она весьма похожа на искушнѣйшую архитектурную симмитрію, или модель, который, по всему матеріалу нечувствительно простираясь, дѣлает весь состав крѣпким и спокойным, всѣ прочія приборы содержащим.
>
> Так слово в слово и она, по всѣм членам политическаго корпуса, из людей, не из камней состоящаго, тайно разлившись, дѣлает его твердым, мирным и благополучным. (1: 147)

Both symbolical matrixes, the anatomic and the architectural, fuse once again in a discussion on society. Skovoroda argues that whenever a family, city, or state is "erected" in accordance with the divine model, the temple of God abides within it. And, just as the mind governs the different movement of a body's limbs, divine wisdom acts—through the various constituent members—for the common good of the society it binds:

> Если, напримѣр, кая-то фамилія, или город, или государство по сему моделю основано и учреждено, в то время бывает он раем, небом, домом божіим и прочая. А если один кой человѣк созиждет по нему житіе свое, в то время бывает в нем страх божій, святыня, благочестіе и прочая. И как в тѣлѣ человѣческом один ум, однак разно по разсужденію разных частей дѣйствует, так и в помянутых сожительствах, сею премудростію связанных, бог чрез различные члены различныя в пользу обшую производит дѣйства. (1: 147)

At this point it is worth noting that, diagrammatically, divine wisdom is both the geometric center of the political edifice and organic head of society's body.

Skovoroda argues that one enterprise unique to humankind depends on God's wisdom. For as His "most beautiful countenance" imprints itself upon human souls it transforms imageless monsters into human beings—i.e., animals that are kind, tolerant, generous, just, and worthy of friendship and membership in various social units:

> . . . От нея одной зависит особенный в созиданіи рода человѣческаго промысл. Она-то есть <u>прекраснѣйшее</u> <u>лицо</u> <u>божіе</u>, которым он со временем, напечатуясь на душѣ нашей, <u>дѣлает</u> нас <u>из</u> диких и <u>безобразных</u> <u>монстров</u>, или уродов, <u>человѣками</u>, то есть звѣрками, к содружеству и к помянутым сожителствам годными, незлобивыми, воздержными, великодушными и справедливыми. (1: 147; emphasis mine)

Here the juxtaposition of *лицо* (countenance, visage, face, person) with the polysemous *безобразный* (impolite, imageless, faceless, shapeless, a negative exemplum) multiplies the levels of meaning and metaphoric

correspondences.[8] However, of greater interest to us is the fact that, in Skovoroda's system, the metamorphic power of divine wisdom lays the foundations for social concord.

Skovoroda introduces yet another architectural metaphor when he mentions that the divine countenance, once it is inscribed upon human hearts, turns men into building blocks of the living temple. Therein, he explains, God rules with special love (1:148).

2.1 MODES OF SERVING THE DIVINE IMITATOR

The pivotal passage in Skovoroda's discourse declares that, recently, God's wisdom revealed itself in the "image" (figure, form, exemplum) of man, thus becoming God-human: "А в послѣдовавшія уже времена показалась она во образѣ мужеском, здѣлавшись богочеловѣком" (1:148; emphasis mine).[9] It is at this point that Skovoroda introduces the principal tenet of his theology:

Каковым же способом божія сія премудрость родилась от отца без матери и от дѣвы без отца, как-то она воскресла и опять к своему отцу вознеслась и прочая,— пожалуй, не любопытствуй. Имѣются и в сей, так как в протчих науках, праздныя тонкости, в которых одних может себѣ занять мѣсто тая недѣйствительная вѣра, которую называют умозрительною. Поступай и здесь так, как на операх, и довольствуйся тѣм, что глазам твоим представляется, а за ширмы и за хребет театра не заглядай. Здѣлана сія занавѣса нарочно для худородных и склонных к любопытству сердец, потому что подлость, чем в ближайшее знакомство входит, тѣм пуще к великим дѣлам и персонам учтивость свою теряет. (1:148–49; emphasis mine)

As we can see, Skovoroda rejects the validity of logical inquiry into the mystery of wisdom's birth and resurrection. He exhorts the reader not to indulge in curiosity (*любопытство*) but rather to behave as if he were at the opera. Instead of scrutinizing what transpires behind the scenes, Skovoroda recommends that satisfaction is to be derived from the performance taking place on stage. Undue intimacy with great personae and their deeds generates discourtesy toward them. Base curiosity, he continues, has led to the schisms, superstitions, and other ulcers currently afflicting Europe: "От

[8] Slavynec'kyj and Korec'kyj-Satanovs'kyj define ЛИЦЕ́ as "Vultus [countenance, visage]. Facies. Persona." They define ОБРАЗНЫЙ as "Moralis. Exemplaris. Formalis." Thus, it is logical to assume that the prefixed form, БЕЗОБРАЗНЫЙ, represents the absence of these qualities. See Nimčuk, ed., *Leksykony*.

[9] Slavynec'kyj and Korec'kyj-Satanovs'kyj translate ОБРАЗЪ as "Exemplum. Forma." The same word spelled with an *omega* is defined as "Imago. Figura. Forma. Specimen." Skovoroda's spelling does not observe this differentiation.

The Slavonic МУЖЪ corresponds to the Latin *vir*, and ЧЕЛОВѢК to *homo*. See Nimčuk, ed., *Leksykony*.

таковых-то любопытников породились расколы, суевѣрія и прочія язвы, которыми вся Европа безпокоится." (1: 149).

Skovoroda then claims that for God it is more important to animate (stir) one aimless soul with the spirit of His commandments than to bring forth a new earthly sphere populated with lawless men: "Важнѣйшее дело божіе есть: одну безпутную душу оживотворить духом своих заповѣдей, нежели из небытія произвесть новый земной шар, населенный беззаконниками" (1: 149). In the next sentence Skovoroda openly proclaims that the truly "faithful [servant]" carries out the will of his master and does not attempt to infiltrate into his secrets: "Не тот вѣрен государю, кто в тайности его вникнуть старается, но кто волю его усердно исполняет" (1: 149).

By comparing the quaestio of scholastic theology with improper behavior at the opera and a servant's unfaithfulness, Skovoroda suggests that this type of theology does not serve the divine imitator but, rather, transgresses against social and professional decorum.

2.2 THE ETERNAL SPEECH OF THE DIVINE IMITATOR

From this point onward what Skovoroda had depicted strictly in visual terms (portrait, seal, countenance) will also be presented as a speaking entity:

> Вѣчная сія премудрость божія во всѣх віках и народах неумолкно продолжает рѣчь свою, и она не иное что есть, как повсем[ѣ]ственнаго естества божія невидимое лицо и живое слово, тайно ко всѣм нам внутрь гремящее. . . . (1: 149; emphasis mine)

As we can see, Skovoroda first announces that God's eternal wisdom, "without ever growing silent," continues to utter its "speech" (*рѣчъ*) among all nations and through all ages. He then refers to divine wisdom as both an "invisible countenance" and a "living oration" (*живое слово*) secretly thundering within us.[10]

[10] Both in Slavonic and Ukrainian СЛОВО is polysemous: it means "word" but is frequently used to designate an "oratorical composition." In Old and Early-Modern Ukrainian literature various oratorical kinds of writing were called "Слово."

Slavynec'kyj and Korec'kyj-Satanovs'kyj define СЛОВО as "Verbum. Dictum. Dictio. Oratio. Ratio."

Slavynec'kyj renders the Latin ORATIO as "слово, рѣчь." On the other hand, he translates VERBUM as "слово" and "глаголъ." See Nimčuk, ed., *Leksykony*.

My preference for "oration" is predicated by Skovoroda's use of *рѣчь* in the same sentence. In my opinion, the *living oration* conceptually compliments the *continuing speech of wisdom*. The *living word* would be incongruous with *copia*'s technique of synonymy employed by Skovoroda in this text. Moreover, a serious theological argument is being made here, which I will discuss below.

From the arguments posited thus far it is clear that "eternal wisdom"—the axis of Skovoroda's symbolical matrix—cannot be discerned with corporeal eyes (*невидимое лицо*) but does express and has been expressing itself through speech.

Skovoroda subsequently emphasizes that his contemporaries are not receptive to the "counsels" of divine wisdom. This, he explains, is partly due to deafness, but mostly to the obstinacy which meager education generates: "Но не хотим слушать совѣтов ея, одни за лишеніем слуха, а самая большая часть—по нещастному упрямству, от худаго зависящему воспитанія" (1: 149; emphasis mine). The Jewish prophets, he claims, lent their ears to God's "voice" (*гласъ*) and, thus, His wisdom became the origin, the means, and the end of their books:

> Прислушивалися нетлѣнному сему гласу премудрыя люди, называемыя у жидов пророками, и со глубочайшим опасеніем повелѣваемое исполняли.
>
> Она начало и конец всѣх книг пророческих; от нея, чрез нея и для нея все в них написано. (1: 149; emphasis mine)

Skovoroda then enumerates the various names accorded to divine wisdom throughout history. Among these we find: oration (*слово*); counsel (*совѣт*); law (*правда*); and kingdom of God (*царство божіе*). The earliest Christians, he explains, used the term "Christ" because it means "King" (*царь*), and divine wisdom alone directs all states toward eternal and temporal happiness.

This section concludes by stating that Moses was the first to sketch, albeit crudely, the barest outline—a plan, as it were—of God's image, and founded a prosperous society in accordance with it. By recording this plan on tablets, Moses made God's invisible wisdom deliver its speech continuously just like a mortal man who is both visible and endowed with an audible voice:

> А Мойсей с невидимаго сего образа божія будто план сняв, начертил его просто и грубо самонужнѣйшими линіами и, по нему основывав жидовское общество, здѣлал оное благополучным же и побѣдительным. Он по-тогдашнему написал было его на каменных досках и так здѣлал, что невидимая премудрость божія, будто видимый и тлѣнный человѣк, чувственным голосом ко всѣм нам рѣчь свою имѣет. (1: 149; emphasis mine)

As he introduces the fifth section, devoted to the Decalogue, Skovoroda maintains that Moses divided God's speech into ten "deliberations or points:" "Сія рѣчь, понеже от него раздѣлена на десять разсужденій, или пунктов, потому названа десятословіем" (1: 149). This section, in fact, is rather brief and passes over in silence the sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments. The remaining five sections are even shorter and deal with the following topics: faith as an anchor ("О истиннѣй вѣрѣ"); the differences between piety and ceremony ("Благочестіе и церемоніа—разнь"); the

differences between ritual and divine law ("**Закон Божій и преданіе—разнь**"); the base passions as manifestations of sin ("**О страстях, или грѣхах**"); and love as purity of heart ("**О любви, или чистосердечіи**").

2.3 MANY THRESHOLDS IN ONE: THE THEOLOGY AND POETICS OF *COPIA VERBORUM*

The Primary Door, especially the section I have just summarized, is an elegant and well-crafted composition. By occasionally violating natural grammatical order, Skovoroda forces the reader to retrace his steps and discern the relationships between modifiers and objects modified in the given syntactical unit. Also, by initiating consecutive sentences with the same pronomial subject, Skovoroda invites the reader to return, once again, and verify the referent in question. Thus, for example, it is at times necessary to check whether ***она*** (she) stands for ***премудрость*** (wisdom) or ***рѣчь*** (speech). Both strategies induce the reader to consider whether the resulting conceptual fusion was intended by the author or not. But what commands our attention most is the interplay of imagery and semantic fields in the text.

The subject matter of *The Primary Door* is essentially religious. Consequently, it is rather striking that the vocabulary of politics and, especially, art figures prominently in the text. Note, for example, that divine wisdom is directly associated with such concepts as portrait, image, persona. On the other hand, it is also associated with counsel, law, and deliberation. And, as can be gathered from the summary, segments of the composition that are located far apart from each other are invariably linked through the polysemy of individual words. That this is intentional can be demonstrated by the fact that the alternative significance of a word—even when not immediately relevant—is validated in another context. Take ***наслѣдник***, for example. When understood as "imitator" or "emulator," this noun compliments "portrait" and, later, "persona." But, its first meaning—"successor"—is made relevant in passages where "God-man," "Christ," and "King" are mentioned. Similarly, ***служителі*** means "servants" in the passage where the presence of a "master" is implied. But its more frequent application—i.e., "ministers"—needs to be kept in mind when "Christ" and "King" are mentioned. Even at this point ***служителі*** implies two concepts, because "minister" has a secular and a religious application. The words "faithful" and "lawless" apply to both significations of ***служителі***.

Although polysemy plays a prominent role in this text, synonymy also has its place. It is harnessed for a very special, though at first imperceptible, purpose. Note that Skovoroda does not convey the relationship between God-the-Father and God-the-Son through the uniformity of a

logical proposition. Instead, he intimates this theological tenet by means of a synonymous bond—i.e., the relationship between the mind and the wisdom it generates. The filiation of the latter is communicated by the nouns "natural portrait," "seal," and "successor." Only later, when Skovoroda speaks about God-man, does he mention the "birth," "resurrection," and "ascension" of wisdom.

Of extreme importance in Skovoroda's system is the fact that divine wisdom reveals itself through speech not only after but also before it assumes human countenance. Consequently, the invisible speaker/orator (i.e., he who delivers the *рѣчь/слово*) at the axis and the head of Skovoroda's allegorical construct is none other than God-the-Son, Christ. If we bear in mind the classical thesis that the orator was the savior of citizens, we realize that Skovoroda adheres to the Humanist teleological perspective on speech introduced into Ukraine at the end of the sixteenth century.[11] But, when we review the passage where he describes divine wisdom transforming imageless brutes into kind and tolerant animals who are worthy of friendship and life in society, we also realize that Skovoroda sacralizes Cicero's idea of rhetoric as the agent of civilization. This sacralized teleology of eloquence is, in fact, the *spiritus movens* of Skovoroda's prose oeuvre—from the fable to the tract, and the colloquy.

The folding-back of meaning upon meaning that we perceive here is typical of Skovoroda's prose. The compositional strategies of *copia verborum* he employs do not conform with those of the dialectician for whom the original signification of a word, rather than its usage, is normative.[12] Skovoroda's preference for *copia* is also a rejection of the scholastic theologian's homologous adherence to the designations "God," "Father," and "Son." There is in these facts an important lesson for our understanding of Skovoroda as a whole. It is my contention that he rejects the methods of the quadrivium and approaches his enterprise strictly as a grammarian and master of poetics—not as a logician, philosopher, or scholastic theologian.[13]

[11] The thesis of *orator* as *soter* is discussed by D. F. S. Thomson, "The Latinity of Erasmus," in *Erasmus*, T.A. Dorey, ed. (Albuquerque, N.M., 1970), p. 129. In my dissertation, I point to the adoption of the Humanist teleological perspective in Ukraine (see pp. 191–240).

[12] Scholars who studied the philosophical dimension of Skovoroda's oeuvre have noted the absence of rational constructs in his method of exposition. They have also demonstrated that Skovoroda's treatment of the verbal sign radically departs from the purely semantic analyses found in the neo-Latin manuals of rational philosophy and logic compiled at his alma mater. See, for example, V. M. Ničyk, "H. Skovoroda ta filosofs'ki tradyciji Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji akademiji," in *Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody*, V. I. Šynkaruk, ed. (Kiev, 1972), pp. 70–71.

[13] To understand the relevance of this, it is necessary to bear in mind that the quadrivium program of humanistic schools, from the institutionalization of the new learning in the mid-sixteenth century through the mid-eighteenth (in some areas up to the 1790s), continued to

As we stand at the threshold of Skovoroda's "primary door" let us also note that his discourse signals a movement inward. It beckons us to heed the oration reverberating within a construct which is both an edifice and a body. By turning us into building blocks and limbs, he persuades us to be the body, to enter the edifice. But his fluid diagram intimates other coterminous rites of passage which lead into our own house, the city magistrate, the republic's forum, the temple, ourselves. Wherever we turn, the speech emanates from within (i.e., the axis) and from above (i.e., the head). Skovoroda warns that meager education prevents us from heeding the counsels of the divine orator. This threatens social concord—our "particular enterprise." But Skovoroda's explication of the orator's deliberations is far too brief to remedy the situation. It appears, therefore, that beyond the "primary door" other thresholds await us.

3.0 SKOVORODA'S PROSE AS A SINGLE EDIFICE

> You see, the boundary of one space is also a door that opens unto a field of new expanses. . . .
> Skovoroda, *A Small Book called "The Silenos Alcibiades"*[14]

In a letter to Ja. M. Donec'-Zaxarževs'kyj, written eighteen years after he composed the tract, Skovoroda called *The Primary Door* a "Catechesis," and referred to it as his "own and, in spirit, God's daughter."[15] These highly suggestive designations deserve our attention. Architectural metaphors, especially such that intimate the fusion of a church building and the human soul, figure importantly in catechistical rhetoric. Moreover, numerous Renaissance catechisms contain frontispieces depicting the portal of the church porch where the catechumen receive instruction.[16] But Skovoroda's construct is a political edifice and a social body, not merely a human temple. His tract, moreover, does not observe standard catechetical procedure. And, rather than cataloguing the articles of faith of the Eastern Church and discussing its sacraments, it proclaims the supremacy of faith and interior piety over laws and external ritual.

draw upon scholastic texts, methods, and traditions. The efforts of early Humanists to introduce their philological methods beyond the trivial level failed from the very beginning.

14 "Видиш, что одного мѣста граница есть она же и дверь, открывающая поле нових пространностей. . ." (2: 14).

15 The letter is dated 7 December 1787; see Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*, 2: 406.

16 Stanley Fish, *The Living Temple: George Herbert and Catechizing* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1978), p. 57.

The designation "Cathechesis" does make sense, however, if we consider *The Primary Door* as a blueprint for the tracts and colloquies Skovoroda subsequently wrote. The interiorizing movement that governs his discourse "On the Particular Enterprise of Man" remains a constant in all his writings. Skovoroda persistently guides his "catechumen" from the surface to the depth of an enigmatic text (*A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades"*), from external to hidden realities (*Narcissus* and A *Symphony on Self-Knowledge called "The Book of Asxan'"*), from traditional rites of passage to inner piety, from professional choices imposed by a given estate to the individual's natural inclination (*A Conversation called "The Alphabet or Primer of the World"*).

The sacralization of the secular and criticism of theologians we have witnessed in *The Primary Door* also surfaces in later works. Consider first the following comment in *The Conversation of Five Travelers "On True Happiness in Life"* (***Разговор пяти путников о истинном щастіи в жизни***, mid-1770s):

> . . . одно то хулы достойно, что на их [наук] надѣясь, пренебрегаем верховнѣйшую науку, до которой всякому вѣку, странѣ и статьи, полу и возрасту для того оттворена дверь, что щастіе всѣм без выбора есть нужное, чего кромѣ ея, ни о какой наукѣ сказать не можно. И сим всевысочайшій вѣками и системами вѣчно владѣющій парламент довольно доказав, что он всегда праведен есть и правы суды его. (1: 337; emphasis mine)

In this passage, the character Lonhyn bemoans the universal neglect of the "highest science." This was the designation traditionally accorded to theology, the crown discipline of the quadrivium. The interlocutor, however, does not employ the term; he speaks of a door to happiness that is continuously open. The science he has in mind, unlike any other, is needed by everyone and can be pursued by both sexes, all the nations and age groups. And instead of mentioning God, Lonhyn speaks of the highest ruling "parliament," eternally in session, which has continuously "proven" that its decisions and laws are just. The parallels between this entity and the invisible orator in *The Primary Door* are quite evident.

In yet another work, *A Conversation called "The Alphabet or Primer of the World,"* the character Ermolaj identifies spiritual salvation with inner peace, and claims that this should not be the monopoly of priests and monks (1: 419). Skovoroda, as a matter of fact, frequently indicts official mystagogues, scholastic theologians, and philosophers for failing in their responsibilities.[17] His express concern is that, instead of studying the central text,

[17] For similar arguments, see *A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades"* (1: 12); *The Two [Principles], a Colloquy on the Topic "It Is Easy to be Blessed"* (1: 266); and *A Symphony on Self-Knowledge called "The Book of Asxan'"* (***Симфонія, нареченная Книга Асхань, о***

theologians focus on issues which cannot be investigated by "the eye of the mind" and which, ultimately, do not contribute toward the attainment of spiritual happiness.

Over and beyond this, Skovoroda criticizes schoolmen in general for being artless. They are never allowed into the garden or Hryhorij's study, where he and his friends gather to talk. The reader learns about them from fleeting comments made during various conversations. Bearing the names Somnas, Naval, and Pyfykov, they are derided by Hryhorij's circle. Somnas is called verbose. Naval is called deaf (to the gospel) and the opposite of a poet or a philosopher—i.e., a fool. Pyfykov—his name suggests—engages in brutish mimicry. The charge most often leveled against all three is that, rather than bringing delight to a scriptural reading, they "grind" at the (divine) banquet and render it tasteless. Hryhorij's friends invariably report that it is difficult to listen to these "scholars." The only feeling that the three arouse is displeasure.[18]

Such asides underscore how much Skovoroda is attuned to the aesthetic or, more precisely, the eloquent aspects of speech. His invectives are motivated by the failure of theologians and schoolmen to impart delight and to stir the emotions; they are not governed merely by a concern for the spiritually useful. Skovoroda's attitudes arise from his understanding of creation and the origin of speech. In *The Primary Door* we saw, in fact, that he presented God (the Son, to be exact) as wisdom not only endowed with speech, but also inclined to animate, to metamorphose the human soul. Let us now turn to *A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades,"* where he develops more extensively the idea of speech as God's foremost tool.

3.1 THE GENESIS OF DIVINE SPEECH

A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades" outlines Skovoroda's method of reading the Bible and, at the same time, subtly codifies the major symbols that he uses throughout his oeuvre. The section that interests us constitutes, in fact, an exegesis of the Johannine prologue (Jn 1: 1–5).[19]

познанія самаго себе, 1776) (1: 204). More direct attacks on the scholastics appear in his correspondence to Myxajlo Kovalyns'kyj (November 1762, 2: 245; June 1763, 2: 298). It must be stressed, however, that Skovoroda never declares himself against accepted dogma.

18 See the colloquies: *Narcissus* (1: 158, 163); *The First Colloquy entitled "The Observatorium"* (1: 285); *A Conversation called "The... Primer of the World"* (1: 416).

19 I have used the *New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible* (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Company, 1957): "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God; and the Word was God. (2) He was in the beginning with God. (3) All things were made through him, and without him was made nothing that has been made. (4) In him was life, and the life was the light of men. (5) And the light shines in the darkness; and the darkness grasped it not."

Entitled "The Entire Bible is Founded upon this Principle [Origin/ Beginning/ Genesis]" ("На сем началѣ утверджена вся Библіа"),[20] Skovoroda's text is very brief. It claims that the seed and fruit, the center and the harbor, the begining and end of all the "Hebrew Books" is the phrase: "In the beginning was the oration." Skovoroda explains that the entire discourse of Holy Writ was created (invented) in order that it may serve as the singular monument to this "principle"—. . . "всей библіи слово создано в том, чтоб была она единственным монументом *начала*" (2: 17; emphasis mine).

In Skovoroda's opinion the second and third parts of the prologue's first verse affirm the nobility and uniqueness of the Bible's origins, and the fact that it was made with God and for God. When Skovoroda turns to the second verse, he corrects the gender of the demonstrative pronoun modifying *слово* (oration) and emphasizes that it ought to be the neuter *сіе* rather than the masculine *сей*. Thus the verse reads: "It was in the beginning with God," rather than "He was. . . ." But, beside reinstating grammatical agreement, Skovoroda parenthetically points to the original Greek term:

> Сіе слово издревле здѣлано к богу. «Сей бѣ искони к богу». (Дольжно читать так:) Сіе бѣ искони к богу, сирѣчь слово (сей λόγος). (2: 17; emphasis mine)

By citing the original term Skovoroda insinuates that the grammatical error (i.e., *сей слово*) arose because *lógos* is a masculine noun.[21] It is highly significant that Skovoroda does not cite the Latin *verbum*. In my opinion he does this because *verbum* refers to a single vocable and, unlike *lógos* or *слово*, does not intimate a sustained discourse, oration, or speech.[22]

Skovoroda does not quote the third verse exactly, nor does he discuss it. Subsequently, he merely alludes to the fourth and fifth verses by stating that within the perishable and mortal shadow of the [Bible's] books and the mist

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20 The word *начало* is polysemous and its signification depends on context. The bracketed words represent logical alternatives.

21 The Latin term traditionally used to translate the Johannine prologue is *verbum* (a neuter noun). It is interesting to note that Roman Catholic translations of the Bible into English adhere to the masculine pronoun "he" rather than the expected "it" whenever substituting the noun "word": "*He* was in the beginning. . ."; "through *him*, and without *him*. . . ."

22 It is highly probable that Skovoroda relied upon the "Jelyzavetyns'ka" edition of the Bible, first published in 1751, which had been translated by three Kiev scholars—among them the Orientalist Symon Todors'kyj, Skovoroda's professor. This text is not available to me. It is, therefore, interesting to note that, unlike the text quoted by Skovoroda, the Ostrih Bible observes the agreement of grammatical gender he defends: "Се бѣ искони оу б[ог]а."

P. Kuliš's *translation into nineteenth-century* Ukrainian also *observes this pattern*: "У починї було Слово, й Слово було в Бога, й Бог було Слово. (2) Воно було в починї у Бога. (3) Все Ним стало ся; і без Него не стало ся нїщо, що стало ся." (4) "У Йому життє було; й життє було сьвітло людям. (5) І сьвітло у темряві сьвітить, і темрява Його не обняла."

of their images, a most pure, most luminous and living concept is concealed. Skovoroda renders these three modifiers in the neuter singular, thus intimating that divine oration (*слово*) continues to live within the text of Holy Writ:

> Все в нем богозданное и ничего нѣт, что бы не текло к богу. «Вся тѣм быша...» И как в ничтожной вексельной бумажкѣ сокрывается имперіал, так в тлѣнной и смертной сих книг сѣни и во выракѣ образов таится пречистое, пресвѣтлое и живое. (2: 17)

The above exegesis becomes more intelligible when we turn to the next section, called "The Bible is a Microcosm of Divine Images. The Creation of the World Refers to it Alone and not to the Great World Inhabitated by Creatures" ("Библіа есть маленькій богообразный мір, или мірик. Мірозданіе касается до одной ея, не до великаго, тварьми обитаемаго міра"). As this title suggests, the section is devoted to the Book of Genesis and argues that the reality depicted by Moses is a symbolical reality which has little to do with the natural world as we know it.

Skovoroda interprets the prologue to the Book of Genesis (1:1–2)[23] as evidence that God put in order a disorderly heap of perishable figures lacking goodness and countenance: "«Вначалѣ сотвори бог небо и з[емлю]». Грязь же сія и сволочъ тлѣнных фигур натаскана безобразно и безпорядочно, не имущая вида, ни доброты. «Земля же бѣ невид[има] и неустр[оена]»" (2: 18).

When he turns to the third verse Skovoroda proclaims that at this point God's workshop of images begins. He portrays God perceiving a "genesis [origin/beginning/principle]" through the amorphous darkness and hearing within Himself its mysterious thunder. Heeding its call, God turns to Moses and instructs him to marshall the light of the sun as His own "figure." The trope, God announces, will point at divine truth which radiates in the physical world but does not appear credible [verisimilar, probable] to mortals:

> Вслѣд сего Мойсеева предисловія начинается сотвореніе тварей, созданіе сѣни, дѣланіе чудес божіих, фабрика фигур его. «И рече бог:—Вижу сквозь мрак присносущное *начало* и ему раболѣпно поклоняюся. Слышу тайный его во мнѣ гром сей». «И рече бог:—Слушай, Мойсей! Пущай будет солнечный свѣт фигурою моею! Она станет показывать перстом истину мою сіящую в тлѣнной вашей натурѣ, невѣроятную смертным». (2: 18; emphasis mine)

[23] According to the *New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible*, the verses read: "In the Beginning God created the heavens and the earth; (2) the earth was waste and void, darkness covered the abyss, and the spirit of God was stirring above the waters."

Skovoroda interprets the Book of Genesis as a record of the supreme poet's invention and creative strategies. As we can see, the "genesis [beginning/origin/principle]" in question (i.e., *начало*) is some kind of poetic furor that inspires God and thunders within Him. The rhetoric of Skovoroda's exegesis on the Johannine prologue leaves little doubt that the invisible power in question is nothing other than the divine oration (i.e., *слово*). It will be remembered, moreover, that in *The Primary Door* the thundering sound within us was directly associated with the counsels of divine speech.

This entire section alludes to an old topos in Renaissance Humanist criticism: namely, that the poet presides over a creation of his own; his words are fraught with power and, therefore, his works are "replete with all the appeals that the external world presents to the senses—particularly appeals to sight and hearing." In accordance with this topos, what a poet invents is not merely being described but also seems actually to be taking place.[24]

As we can well appreciate, Skovoroda wryly reverses the topos and replaces the poet with none other than God. Thus, it is quite natural that whatever the ultimate poet speaks into existence actually does take place. God commands "Let there be Light," and the most important "figure" of the physically sensible world, the sun, assumes His hypostasy and becomes a trope for law and truth:

«Да будет свѣт!» Итак, вдруг солнечный свѣт надѣл блистанiе славы божiя и образ ипостáси его, а тлѣнь свѣтила сего здѣлалась *солнцем правды* и селенiем *истины*, как только *вѣчный* в солнцѣ положил селенiе свое. (2: 18; emphasis mine)

Skovoroda subsequently explains that the creative acts of the truly powerful make miracles out of nothing, flesh out exactness from the nebulous, give semblance to mud, impart greatness upon insignificant mortality. In a Latin footnote to this statement Skovoroda adumbrates that true poetic technique involves fashioning something good out of evil:

Сiе-то есть прямое сотворенiе сильнаго!*—дѣлать из ничего чудо, из сѣни—точность, дать грязи ипостась, а подлой тлѣни величiе. . . .

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*Quid est techna poetica? Facere ex malo bonum. Quis bonus?. . . Caro nihil. . . (2: 19)

The serious tone and Skovoroda's scholarly footnote notwithstanding, it is obvious that he expects the educated reader to smile knowingly at his exegesis. Skovoroda consciously satirizes the convention that sanctioned the creation of exempla and harnessed the probabilities of moral philosophy

[24] Ralph G. Williams, ed. and trans., *The De Arte Poetica of Marco Girolamo Vida* (New York, 1976), p. 163.

to depict credible but faultless models of human virtue. For this reason, Skovoroda's God feels the need to select an appropriately lofty symbol that will represent something so inverisimilar, improbable, incredible as law and truth.

The reversal of the topos predicates bringing "down to earth" the ultimate exemplum, i.e., the author whose epic invention Skovoroda sets out to explicate. Thus, when God addresses (inspires?) Moses he does not employ the high style; he speaks colloquially: "Listen, here, Moses." It is this model of speech (*рѣчь*) we ought to bear in mind when we read the colloquies taking place in Skovoroda's allegorical garden.

If in epic poetry and the public encomium the human object of praise was given heroic proportions, Skovoroda's reversal of the topos makes the divine hero assume distinctly human dimensions. Witness the following passage, where God is shown taking delight in His own creation:

> На сіе доброе свое дѣло взирал вышній добрым своим оком. Он, презирая нашего свѣта подлую худость, терпящую запад, единственно смотрит на свой невечерній свѣт, в вещественном солнцѣ поселившійся и для любителей своих от сѣни его исходящій, как жених от чертога своего. «И видѣ бог свѣт, яко добро». (2: 19; emphasis mine)

What is significant in this passage is the fact that, when God takes stock of His accomplishment, the humble singular—*доброе дѣло*—is employed, instead of the plural normally associated with *gesta* and *actiones humanas*. Subsequently, God contrasts our feeble light with His own never-setting radiance, which issues forth from the shadows just "like a bridegroom from his own bedchamber," and realizes that the light is good.[25]

In this passage, the poet's invention, the generation of the Son by the Father, the formulation of Law (Sun) by the Speaker—all fuse into one. But true to his theology and professional decorum, Skovoroda merely hints at this and moves on to other topics.

[25] It would be wrong to assume that Skovoroda's elegant humor seeks to undermine the tenets of Christianity, as some critics would have it. On the contrary, analysis of his prose oeuvre supports Dmytro Čyževs'kyj's thesis that for him man's highest gnostic assignment was to decipher the symbolical code of Holy Writ. (See his *Fil'osofija H. S. Skovorody*, Praci Ukrajins'koho Naukovoho Instytutu, 24 [Warsaw, 1934], p. 53.) But having said this, I also emphasize that scholars on both sides of the ideological spectrum have overlooked the unique function that poetic theory—particularly its school recension—performs in Skovoroda's exegesis. This fact has remained undetected even by those critics who set out to investigate Skovoroda's aesthetic views and the relationship of his thought to the legacy of the Kiev Mohyla Academy. (See S. I. Dihtjar's "Estetyčni pohljady H. S. Skovorody," in *Ukrajins'ke literaturoznavstvo* 39 [1982]: 32–40; V. M. Ničyk, "H. Skovoroda ta filosofs'ki tradyciji Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji akademiji," in *Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody*, V. I. Šynkaruk, ed.; O. V. Myšanyč, *Hryhorij Skovoroda i usna narodna tvorčist'* [Kiev, 1976], p. 70.)

3.2 DIVINE FICTION

Skovoroda does not merely satirize the criterion of verisimilitude. In *The First Colloquy called "Observatorium"* (***Бесѣда*** 1-***я, нареченная*** *"Observatorium,"* 1772], he also suggests that this is Satan's own device. Here, in a heated exchange between Atanasij and Hryhorij, two opposing camps are defined. In the first Hryhorij places the bearers of the gospel, philosophers, and prophets. These he designates as eagles because he considers them to be true poets or creators. In the second camp he enumerates those who are deaf to the gospel (i.e., fools like Naval) and schoolmasters of poetics (***піити***). For them he reserves the epithet "owls and monkeys," thus implying that they engage in mimicry rather than in genuine poetic flight. Among them, Hryhorij also includes Satan because he "steals for himself the image (exemplum) of the luminous angel": "...**Не поминай мнѣ обезьян и не дивись, что <u>сатана</u> <u>образ</u> <u>свѣтлаго</u> ангела на себе крадет**" (1:285; emphasis mine).

From this perspective, we can better appreciate the distinction Skovoroda makes between "true poetry" (***истинная...*** *ποίησις*) and "physical tales [intended for] toothless children" (***физическія сказки [для] беззубы[х] младенц[ов]***).[26] I propose that the former refers to incredible inventions which conceal moral truths, while the latter refers to the type of poetry promoted in the humanistic trivium—i.e., verisimilar imitations which create merely illusory images of virtue.

Skovoroda consistently emphasizes the noble origins of symbolical language, enigmatic figures, and fabular inventions which lack any semblance of the probable. Twice in *A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades"* he states that beneath the Bible's overt deceptions, a deeper truth is concealed:

> **Сей есть природный штиль библіи! Исторіалною или моралною лицемѣрностью так соплесть фигуры и символы, что иное на лицѣ, а иное в сердцѣ. Лицо, как шелуха, а сердце есть зерном.** . . . (2:20)
>
> . . . **паки ска́зую, что в библіи иное на лицѣ, а иное в сердцѣ. Так как Алкивіадская икона, называемая еллински σηληνός, с лица была шуточная, а внутрь сокрывала великолепѣе божіе. Благородный и забавный есть обман и подлог, гдѣ находим под лжею истину, мудрость под буйством, а во плоти бога. Вот прямое, именуемое у древних еллин** *ποίημα*, **сіесть твореніе! А такіе писатели суть точные піиты, и нимало не дивно, что Мойсея зовут обманщиком.** (2:30–31)

[26] See his *The Two [Principles], a Colloquy on the Topic "It is Easy to be Blessed"* (***Бесѣда, нареченная двое, о том, что блаженним быть легко***), 1:267 and 270. For a discussion of the alimentary metaphor behind the epithet "toothless children," see my dissertation, pp. 294–98.

In the latter passage Skovoroda compares the Bible's fabular strategies with the proverbial Sileni of Alcibiades: i.e., ancient statuettes which, when closed, represented an ugly or ridiculous flute-player, but, when opened, revealed the figure of a god. It is obvious that Skovoroda enjoys the play in the discrepancy between signifier and signified that occurs in allegorical language. Witness the antitheses he posits: truth beneath deception; wisdom beneath impetuosity; God concealed in the flesh. This kind of tension he designates as true poetry, true creation. He concludes the passage by proclaiming that Moses is appropriately called a liar. Thus, Skovoroda suggests, once again, that verisimilitude is not necessarily the validating criterion of poetic invention.

Skovoroda's dedication accompanying *The Kharkiv Fables* (***Басни харьковскія***, 1774) reiterates this idea under a different guise. There he argues that the best antique philosophers employed the fable's figurative kind of writing whenever they sought to reflect—as if in a mirror—the truth, whose living image was perceptible only unto them: "**Истина острому их взору не издали болванѣла так, как подлым умам, но ясно, как в зерцалѣ, представлялась, а они, увидѣв живо живый ея образ, уподобили оную различными тлѣнным фігурам**" (1: 108). In a subsequent passage, Skovoroda explains that hieroglyphics, emblems, symbols, mysteries, parables, similitudes, and adages were invented in order to convey the image / exemplum of God's imperceptible truth. Skovoroda's vindication of these kinds never mentions writings in which the deeds of men constitute the principal subject matter.

It is not coincidental that *The Kharkiv Fables* are dedicated to the lawyer Panas Pan'kiv. His character in Skovoroda's colloquies—At̀anasij—is the most obstinate critic of Hryhorij's and Jakov's allegorical style of discourse and exegesis. To be sure, At̀anasij—like Hryhorij and all other inventions by Skovoroda—may simply be an allegorical type. Nonetheless, it is worth keeping in mind that, as a lawyer, At̀anasij has a literary precedent. In Plato's philosophical republic it is the lawyers, not the orators, who are given the responsibility to formulate rules for the proper use of speech. And, despite the fact that Plato himself resorts to allegory, in his imaginary republic this kind of invention is not the accepted theological method.

4.0 MAGISTER MAGISTRI

In early-modern pedagogy, the fable, hieroglyphics, emblems, symbols, similitudes, and similar kinds of writing were reserved for the instruction of the very young and the illiterate. The fact that Skovoroda defended these kinds of tools for explicating scripture to mature and educated men suggests

that further studies of his legacy must also take into account the sources and influences that went into the formation of his pedagogical mindset.

With this purpose in view, the subsequent discussion considers in general terms the impact that Desiderius Erasmus, the teacher of teachers, may have had on Skovoroda's understanding of theology and, ultimately, on his manner of writing. I do not wish to posit a theory of dependence by marshalling parallels such as their emphasis on piety and interiority over ritual, their shared epithets of teachers as monkeys or parrots, or their animosity toward scholastic theologians responsible for dispersing Christianity into a myriad of sects. These are there, to be sure, along with countless other similarities. What I wish to suggest is that Skovoroda's understanding of the divine Logos as the exemplar to be clarified and imitated in everyday conversation and all forms of human expression may have been obtained from Erasmus. This intimates a radically different approach from the one taken by scholars who viewed Skovoroda strictly as a poet and a speculative thinker. Such an approach, I believe, may bring us closer to the stimuli that prompted Skovoroda to write what he wrote and the strategies he employed in doing so.

At the outset, it is necessary to emphasize that—through his colloquies, collection of adages, paraphrases of the gospel, and scholarly editions of the fathers of the church—Erasmus continued to be a living presence in the eighteenth century. Skovoroda, in fact, acknowledges his acquaintance with the prominent pedagogue and Humanist scholar in a letter to Myxajlo Kovalyns'kyj, dated September 1762. In it he praises his pupil's style in Latin because it is imbued with the spirit of Erasmus: "Crede mihi, Erasmum nostrum visus sum audire, adeo latino spirat spiritu" (2: 224). Skovoroda, unfortunately, does not name any specific works. But in a study devoted to the influence of "folk" oral culture on Skovoroda, O. V. Myšanyč lists several Latin and Greek adages drawn from Erasmus's well-known collection, the *Adagiorum Chiliades*.[27] Myšanyč does not catalogue all the paroemiac material that Skovoroda drew from this collection. Prominently unnoticed remains Erasmus's famous essay on Christianity, which he wrote on the theme of the proverbial Sileni of Alcibiades. This essay, after its initial publication in 1517 and several separate editions, was continuously included in the *Chiliades* throughout the next three centuries.[28]

[27] See his *Hryhorij Skovoroda i usna narodna tvorčist'*, pp. 91–95.

[28] In their commentary to Skovoroda, in *Povne zibrannja tvoriv* (2: 507–508), the philosophers V. Šynkaruk and I. Ivan'o cite Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly* and its mention of the Sileni. They, however, seem unaware of Erasmus's separate essay on the Sileni of Alcibiades and its popularity in early-modern Europe.

There are numerous conceptual parallels between Skovoroda's prose and Erasmus's essay on the Sileni. These recur not only in frequent invectives against princes of the church whose outward symbols of power bely their spiritual baseness, but also in discussions devoted to sense impressions. The most obvious one is found in *A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades,"* where, as we saw, Skovoroda discusses the fabular strategies of the Bible and argues that its surface differs from the hidden text. Compare his treatment of the topic with Erasmus's and note, especially, the latter's comment on Homer's workshop:

In trees, it is the flowers and leaves which are beautiful to the eye; their spreading bulk is visible far and wide. But the seed, in which lies the power of it all, how tiny a thing it is! how secret, how far from flattering the sight or showing itself off! . . .

The very Scriptures themselves have their own Sileni. If you remain on the surface, a thing may sometimes appear absurd; if you pierce through to the spiritual meaning, you will adore the divine wisdom. Speaking of the Old Testament, for instance, if you look at nothing but the story. . . would you not think all this is a fable from Homer's workshop.[29]

It will be recalled that Skovoroda mentions Moses, rather than Homer, and claims that he is aptly called a liar. But, of course, this argument makes the same point as Erasmus's—namely, that the Bible was written by a skillful poet (i.e., *fictor*).

In yet another tract where Skovoroda also discusses the method of reading Holy Writ and focuses on the story of Lot, he proclaims that the "dirt" of this narrative, along with the love affairs of David, has led to the perdition of many readers: "**Коль многих погубила грязь Лотова піянства! Безчисленных растлил яд Давидова прелюбодѣйства, а в старости его—мнимый дур дѣволожства**" (2:36). Erasmus's essay on the Sileni also deals with this topic:

If you read of the incest of Lot, the whole story of Samson (which Saint Jerome judging by the externals calls a fable), the adultery of David and the girl lying in the old man's arms to warm him. . . would not anyone with chaste ears turn away as from an immoral story? And yet under these veils, great heaven! what wonderful wisdom lies hidden. . . . The stupid generality of men often blunder into wrong judgements, because they judge everything from the evidence of the bodily senses, and they are deceived by false imitations of the good and the evil; it is the inside-out Sileni which they marvel at and admire.[30]

[29] Cited according to Margaret Mann Phillips, *The Adages of Erasmus: A Study with Translations* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 274–75.
[30] Mann Phillips, *Adages of Erasmus*, pp. 275–76.

4.1 "IN PRINCIPIO ERAT SERMO"

For our purposes, of far greater importance are the following Erasmian texts: the Greek and Latin edition of the New Testament (*Novum Instrumentum*); its three prefaces—the *Apologia de 'In Principio erat sermo,' Paraclesis*, and *Ratio seu methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram theologiae*; and the paraphrase of the Gospel according to the evangelist John (*Paraphrasis in Evangelium Joannis*). Although we do not know which particular edition of these works may have been available to Skovoroda, it is worth bearing in mind that in the eighteenth century the above-mentioned texts were still being published. In fact, a 1706 edition of the collected works includes a volume of his paraphrases on the four gospels. This particular book bears an engraving on the frontispiece which depicts a bust of Erasmus encircled by Skovoroda's favorite symbol—the serpent of eternity.[31]

Erasmus's first edition of the New Testament appeared in 1516. When four years later the Froben press released the second, much revised edition, a major scandal developed in European ecclesiastical circles. Their singular but strong objection concerned Erasmus's correction of Jerome's *In principio erat verbum* to *In principio erat sermo* ("In the beginning there was Speech"). Contemporary theological scholarship acknowledges that the arguments marshalled by Erasmus on behalf of his choice were sound and based on intimate acquaintance with scriptural and patristic sources. What concerns us here is that his semantic and grammatical annotations emphasized "the speaking activity of the Logos as the Father's revelation to the forum of creation."[32] His extensive theological treatment of the question appeared separately in the *Paraphrasis in Evangelium Joannis* of 1523.[33]

The latter text, in my opinion, offers the thematic key to Skovoroda's *The Primary Door* and *A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades."* Relevant, especially to the former work, are the following passages where Erasmus first speaks about the supremacy of divine nature and, subsequently, warns that it is impious, even dangerous, to scrutinize its ontology because such exercise sows darnel (*zizania*) in the hearts of pious men:

31 See the fascimile by the Gregg Press Limited (London, 1962): Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (Lugdunia, 1706).

32 For a comprehensive discussion, see Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1977), p. 22.

33 The edition I have used is the fascimile by the Gregg Press Limited (London, 1962) of Erasmus's *Opera Omnia* of 1706. All citations in my text are drawn from this publication.

Natura divina quoniam in immensum superat imbecillitatem humani ingenii. . . . (p. 497-A)

Itaque rationibus scrutari divinae naturae cognitionem, temeritas est: loqui de his, quae nullis verbis explicari queunt, dementia est: definire, impietas est. . . . (p. 497-C, D)

Quum enim natura rerum divinarum summis etiam hominum, aut Angelorum ingeniis sit imcomprehensibilis, & Evangelica professio ad omnes mortales ex aequo pertineat. . . . Itaque periculosae cujusdam temeritatis est, quicquam affirmare de natura divinam, praeter ea, quae nobis vel Christu ipse, vel Spiritus Sanctus aperuit. Sed quoniam his temporibus, ut crevit Euangelici sermonis triticum in cordibus piorum, ita succrevit & impiorum zizania: quorum exsecranda temeritas eo proru-pit. . . . (p. 498-C, D; all emphases mine)

Equally relevant for the understanding of *The Primary Door* are the following passages, where Erasmus defines God the Father as the "highest mind" and the Son as His "speech." Note that Erasmus refers to the latter as the most perfect similitude ever generated by a generator, one which surpasses all human likenesses:

Itaque quemadmodum arcanae Litterae summam illam mentem, qua nihil cogitari potest neque majus, neque melius, Deum vocant: ita hujus Filium unicum, sermonem illius appellant. Filius enim quum non sit idem qui Pater, tamen similitudine Patrem quasi refert. . . . Sed gignentis ac geniti similitudo, quae in humana generatione multis modis imperfecta est, in Deo Patre & hujus Filio perfectissima est. (p. 498-E; p. 499-A; emphasis mine)

At this point it is worth stressing that, throughout his works, Erasmus relies on the techniques of *copia* and does not define the relationship between God-the-Father and God-the-Son through a homologous proposition. The above excerpt—where the author speaks of the "highest mind" and the "speech" it generates, or the "generator" generating a "most perfect similitude"—is a good example of Erasmus's method. This should not at all surprise us. The Humanist scholar was one of the most ardent proponents of imitation and *copia verborum* as tools in language study and eloquent expression.

In the following fragment Erasmus describes truthful discourse as the true mirror of the invisible soul, and as the most effective tool for communicating one's will:

Nec est alia res, quae plenius & evidentius exprimat occultam mentis imaginem, quam oratio non mendax. Haec enim vere speculum est animi, qui corporeis occulis cerni non potest. Quod si cui volumus animi nostri voluntatem esse cognitam, nulla re certius id fit, aut celerius, quam oratione, quae ex intimis mentis arcanis depromta, per aures audientis, occultam quadam energia, animum loquentis transfert in animum auditoris. Nec est alia res inter mortales efficacior ad omnem animorum motum excitandum, quam oratio. . . (p. 499-A, B; emphasis mine)

In subsequent passages of the paraphrase, Erasmus notes that the light of God was not appreciated for a long time, and that many regarded it as "incredible." As he introduces the precursor of Christ, John the Baptist, Erasmus indicates that, long ago, it was the angel Lucifer who used to announce the ascendance of the sun (p. 501-B, D). The first of these concepts, it will be remembered, appears in *A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades"*; the latter is echoed in *The First Colloquy... "Observatorium."*

Once again, relevant to *The Primary Door* are the following passages in which Erasmus proclaims the perpetual presence of divine speech, and describes Mosaic law as an imperfect formulation of divine law:

Semper hic sermo Dei fuit in mundo..., quemadmodum ingenium opificis est in opere: quemadmodum gubernator est in eo, quod moderatur.... (p. 502-C)
Nam Moses... Ille legis delator erat duntaxat, non auctor: & Legem tulit inefficacem, austeram, ac rigidam.... (p. 506-E; emphasis mine)

In this context it is worth recalling Skovoroda's own phrasing: "А Мойсей с невидимаго сего образа божія будто план сняв, начертил его просто и грубо самонужнѣйшими линіами...." (1: 149; emphasis mine)

* * *

These passages are suggestive and point to some close correspondences. What strengthens my conviction that the *Paraphrasis in Evangelium Joannis* informed both *The Primary Door* and *A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades"* is the fact that Skovoroda also attempts his own grammatical commentary on the Johannine prologue, and defines the filiation of Christ in terms of a most perfect image and an eternally speaking entity. Moreover, his use of *рѣчь* and *слово* corresponds to the manner in which Erasmus employs the terms *sermo* and *oratio*.

4.2 THE METHOD OF TRUE THEOLOGY

It can be argued that Skovoroda's entire prose oeuvre pursues single-mindedly the program Erasmus recommended in the prefaces to the *Novum Instrumentum*. I believe that they—and especially the *Ratio*—provide the methodological key to Skovoroda's artistic and philosophic enterprise.

Erasmus's *Apologia* which appeared in the 1516 edition, beside stating the theological and linguistic defense of his translation, exhorted theologians to learn the sacral languages. The accompanying *Paraclesis* proclaimed a Christian philosophic republic, constituted by Scripture, and admitted all citizens—without discrimination of age and sex—into the theological

profession. Erasmus, the herald, urged all citizens to retrieve the patrimony that had been monopolized by monkish schoolmen.[34]

The original third preface, *Methodus*, was amplified for the 1518 edition of the *Novum Instrumentum*, where it appeared under the title *Ratio seu methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram theologiae*. Of particular importance to us is the fact that this text emphasized a break with the dialectical method (*via moderna*) and proclaimed the restoration of biblical exegesis as normative theology (the *via antiqua* of the church fathers).

In the introduction to this preface Erasmus applied classical rules which demanded that the methodologist explicate whether the subject at hand is simple or multiform.[35] Guided by the premise that the philosophy of Christ is more simple and satisfying than human philosophies, he declared theology a simple discipline and assured the aspirant that its method is extremely easy to master.[36]

The first step in Erasmus's method summoned the aspirant to purify himself of all vice before embarking on the simple journey. Erasmus specifically recommended a spiritual lustration so that the soul—cleansed in a placid stream, like a mirror wiped clean—could reflect the image of eternal truth.[37]

According to Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, Erasmus believed that the theologian repeats the generation of the Son in a most explicit and exemplary way when he deliberately imitates the Logos by the human paraphrase of divine oratory. In similar fashion, everyman can imitate the divine act by expressing "his true mind in good speech." [38]

In Eramus's opinion, the singular scope of the theologian is to speak metamorphically so that he may transform humanity. To accomplish this, he argued, it is encumbent upon the aspirant to focus on the one immovable axis—the Logos, and to develop that "simple and dovelike eye of faith, which perceives nothing but heavenly things."[39] To instill this point Erasmus made use of a mnemonic device. He offered a diagrammatic allegory which depicts the Christian commonwealth as a sphere of three concentric circles representing the three estates: the clergy, secular princes,

34 O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method*, p. 62.

35 Erasmus uses the Latin *simplex* and the Greek term for "polycephalous." See the fascimile of the 1518 edition in Desiderius Erasmus, *Prefaces to the Fathers, the New Testament on Study*, Robert Peters, ed. (Menston, England, 1970), p. 213.

36 For a more detailed discussion of Erasmus's pedagogical strategies see O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method*, pp. 65–69.

37 O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method*, p. 70.

38 O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method*, pp. 72–73.

39 O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method*, p. 82.

and common men. The axis and North Star of the allegorical sphere is Christ. Erasmus's diagram makes Christ the central focus of true theology, and insinuates that the centripetal force of the Logos erases the boundaries between estates.

Erasmus exhorted the aspirant to "refer everything to Christ" ("ad unius Christi gloriam referret omnia"). This phrase intimates the methods of the rhetorical art of invention. Its argument, in essence, is that the commonplaces (i.e., seats of argumentation) that furnish the examples necessary to motivate an audience are to be found solely in Christ.[40]

Erasmus insisted that the theologian concentrate on useful topics, oriented toward practical life in the Christian republic. Among these, he believed, social concord was of utmost importance. Consequently, the first practical task of the theologian was to slay the Hydra of scholasticism threatening to tear society apart. Pointing to the "swarms of schoolmen," Erasmus argued that the more symbols and articles of faith, the less faith and sincerity there are.

Erasmus also complained that, while all other branches of human learning were receiving ardent attention, the singular philosophy of Christ was either being neglected or treated coldly.[41] Recommending Christ as the archetype of metamorphic speech, Erasmus criticized the futile loquacity of scholastic theologians. His strongest invectives were directed against their frigid and sterile style.

To counter the methods of the scholastics, Erasmus adopted the classical concept of *imitatio* and instructed the aspiring theologian to emulate the first teachers. Pointing to the fact that Christ and most of scripture employ allegory, Erasmus proposed this as the paramount method of theology. Allegory, he argued, stirs the mind and delights the audience. In another part of the *Ratio*, Erasmus proclaimed: "Thus more enjoyable is truth seized upon which first tested us under the wrap of enigma."[42] These recommendations, one must note, closely reflect Erasmus's general pedagogical principles. His *De ratione studii*, for example, proclaimed that "excellence in true learning was only to be obtained by those who find pleasure in its pursuit."

In my discussion concerning the thematic unity of Skovoroda's prose I pointed out his desire to make theology a discipline universally accessible to all faithful. I also demonstrated that Skovoroda indicted schoolmen for

[40] This interpretation is proposed by O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method*, p. 91.
[41] O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method*, pp. 94–96.
[42] Cited according to O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method*, pp. 119–21.

transgressing the criteria of utility and eloquence. Now I would like to make some observations concerning the methods he may have learned from Erasmus's *Ratio*.

First let me propose that, when Skovoroda proclaims the simplicity of ecumenical faith and announces that all which is necessary can be easily accomplished, he is applying Erasmus's classical methodology. In fact, he does this not only in *The Primary Door*, but also in other works. For example, in *The Conversation of Five Travelers "On True Happiness in Life"* Skovoroda promotes acquaintance with Holy Writ as a kind of Logotherapy (1:345) and as a simple path to the highest science. In *The Two [Principles], a Colloquy on the Topic "It Is Easy to be Blessed"* (*Бесѣда, нареченная двое, о том, что блаженным быть легко*, 1781) he incorporates the methodologist's explication directly into the title. Equally worthy of note is the fact that the participants in this colloquy instruct the naive Farra how to avoid the confusion brought about by sirenic dialectic (1:263–66).

Skovoroda's earliest colloquy, *Narcissus* (*Наркісс: Розглагол о том: узнай себе*, 1769–1771), allegorically presents the type of lustration recommended by Erasmus to the aspiring theologian. Written soon after *The Primary Door* this work reverses the classical myth of the self-centered youth. Its prologue presents Narcissus being consumed by the sun's reflection in the stream where he seeks to find his own image (exemplum). The laying-back of meaning upon meaning which is so typical of Skovoroda's prose establishes in this narrative a link between the stream, the sun, and the divine "source":

> Во источник преобразитися? Како могут сія быти?. . . . Вельми легко вѣрующему, яснѣе скажу, узнавшему в себѣ красоту оную: "Пара бо есть силы божія и изліаніе вседержителя славы чыстое."
> . . . Он [Наркісс] самое лучше нашел. Он преобразуется во владыку всѣх тварей, в солнце. Ба! Развѣ солнце и источник есть то же? Ей! Сонце ест источник свѣта. Источник водный источает струи вод, напаяя, прохлаждая, омывая грязь. Огненный же источник источает лýчи свѣта просвѣщая, согрѣвая, омывая мрак. Источник водный водному морю начало. Сонце ест глава огненному морю. (1:156; emphasis mine)

As we can see, the purification to which Narcissus subjects himself eventually turns him (*преобразуется*) into the image of the sun, i.e., into a reflection of the divine source.[43]

[43] The term "source" as a reference to God, the source of knowledge, is a commonplace. Witness the description of theology that appears in the 1591 grammar *Adelphotes: Грамматіка доброглаголіваго еллінословенскаго языка*: "и сйми же седми яко же нѣкіимъ съсýдо(м) разсуждéнія почерпáемъ истóчникъ философіи. . . превосходи́мъ. . . совершеннаго бгослóвія. . . ."

In other works the motif of spiritual lustration is treated more directly. Thus, for example, in *A Conversation called "The... Primer of the World,"* Skovoroda argues that the man who selects theology as a way of life must, first of all, learn the sacral languages and, then, "wash" his hands and feet before approaching the divine banquet of scripture (1:440).

In the *Primary Door* we saw Skovoroda's own diagrammatic allegory which served to remind his audience of the eternally speaking Christ as the focus of true theology. Elsewhere Skovoroda also recommends that his everyman-theologian perceive nothing but heavenly things. Consider the following passage from *A Small Book called "The Silenos of Alcibiades"*:

> Вѣрно, что шар земный без болотных луж, без мертвых озер, без гнилых и долних низкостей быть не может. Но в таких мѣстах жабы и сродныя им птицы да водворяются, а соколы с орлами выспрь в пространство чистых небес да возносятся, оставив дрождіе для непросвѣщенной подлости.
>
> Итак, благочестивое сердце между высыпанными курганами буйнаго безбожія и между подлыми болотами рабострастнаго суевѣрія, не уклоняясь ни вправо, ни влѣво, прямо течет на гору божію и в дом бога Ияковля. (2:7; emphasis mine)[44]

Skovoroda constantly stresses the need to discover one's natural calling in order to select the most satisfying and pleasurable occupation. The exercise of self-analysis which he recommends toward the achievement of this goal invariably involves the reading of Holy Writ. It is interesting to note that, like Erasmus, he treats scripture as if it were divine nature's book of commonplaces, and specifically recommends the rhetorical art of invention as a method of research. Witness Lonhyn's arguments in *The Conversation of Five Travelers "On True Happiness in Life"*:

> ...Все вещество есть красная грязь и грязная краска и живописний порох, а блаженная натура есть сама началом, то есть безначальною инвенціею, или изобрѣтеніем, и премудрѣйшею делинеаціею, всю видимую фарбу носящею, которая нетлѣнной своей силѣ и существу так сообразна, будто [одежда] тѣлу. (1:354–55; emphasis mine)

Skovoroda's exegetical exercises pursue very practical goals and are never self-oriented. His express concern is that the misinterpretation of the Bible has turned the paramount text into a seven-headed Hydra. This, in turn, has given rise to superstitions and led to the dissolution of civilized society:

> ...сей бог наш [бiблія] первѣе на еврейскій, потом на христіанскій род безчисленныя и ужасныя навел суевѣрій наводненія.

[44] Compare this motif with the subject matter of Skovoroda's Second Song ("Взойди, дух мой, на горы, гдѣ правда живет свята"), 1:61.

Из суевѣрій родились вздоры, споры, секты, вражды междусобния и странныя, ручныя и словесныя войны. . . сія ехидна. . . гонит своего брата, дыша убійством, и симь мнится службу приносити богу.

Сей седмиглавный дракон (бібліа), вод горких хлябы изблевая, весь свой шар земный покрыл суевѣріем. . . .

. . . суевѣр бражничает и козлогласует нелѣпую, обявляя непріятелами и еретиками всѣх несогласных ему. . . .

. . . Да и впрямь суевѣр скорбит, если кто на полдень, а не на восток с ним молится. Иной сердит, что погружают, другой бѣсится, что обливают крещаемаго. Иной кленет квас, другой оприсноки. . . . Но кто сочтет всю суевѣрных голов паучини? Будьто бог—варвар, чтоб за мѣлочь враждовать. (2: 7–9)

4.3 CONVIVIUM RELIGIOSUM

> For in general our daily conversations reveal what we are. Let each one comprehend what he can, let him express what he can.
>
> Erasmus, *Paraclesis*[45]

The theology Skovoroda advocated and practiced was by no means scholastic; it openly rejected quadrivial methods of exposition. The poetic and playful style of his exegetical exercises—which frequently combine various kinds of writing into a single well-structured, somewhat enigmatic whole—is excellent evidence of this. Whether Skovoroda perceived such activity as the imitation of "the divine act" which Erasmus recommended to the aspiring theologian is difficult to prove. I propose, however, that the question deserves to be considered. Let us recall, first of all, that he called *The Primary Door* his "own and, in spirit, God's daughter." Let us also note that he designated the colloquy *Narcissus* as his "first-born fruit" and "son."[46]

Skovoroda's colloquies, however, openly reveal the Erasmian principle that everyday conversation on pious topics—especially if informed by scriptural reading—is one way in which everyman can be a theologian. As a matter of fact, the neglect of such exercise is condemned by Jakov, one of the participants in *A Conversation called "The. . . Primer of the World"* (1: 419).

Over and beyond Skovoroda's hypothetical acquaintance with Erasmus's theological texts, it is also highly probable that he knew some of the scholar's colloquies. Inasmuch as the study of Latin in the humanistic

[45] Cited according to O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method*, p. 129.

[46] In his own words: "дщерь мо[я] по плоти, но по духу божі[я]" (1: 496); "первородний плод,""первородний сын" (1: 154, 498).

school involved the use of dialogues, this should not surprise us. After all, Erasmus, the proponent of the natural method of language study, invented an entire world of colloquies for schoolboys to imitate both linguistically and "spiritually."

Consider the fact that *A Conversation called "The... Primer of the World,"* like the *Convivium religiosum* by Erasmus, takes place in a natural setting—i.e., a garden. Its participants subsequently proceed into Hryhorij's humble but pleasant room, which is decorated with numerous emblems. These become the subject of the continuing spiritual meal. Emblems, one must note, were among the visual stimuli and mnemonic devices recommended by Erasmus the pedagogue. Similar devices—i.e., trilingual signs and mottoes—decorate the garden of Erasmus's *Convivium religiosum*. Incidentally, its host, Eusebius, also invites his friends to join him at home for a spiritual feast (and a luncheon). His villa, one must add, is lavishly decorated with botanical frescoes and *emblemata*.[47]

It would be wrong to assume, however, that Skovoroda was a slavish imitator. In fact, *A Conversation called "The... Primer of the World"* clearly reflects the social realia of the author's time and place. After all, Erasmus did recommend that the theologian deal with practical matters and use his eloquence to transform men. In *"The... Primer of the World,"* Skovoroda discusses the three estates of contemporary Ukrainian society: landowners, military men, and clergymen. Two of the colloquy's participants, Hryhorij and Jakov, passionately defend the major tenet of Skovoroda's philosophy—namely, that membership in a given estate need not dictate one's choice of profession. Hryhorij bemoans the lowly status accorded to the actual tillers of the land while nobiliary titles are awarded to negligent landowners (1:421). Jakov argues that true seemliness (*prepon, decorum*) is not subject to the rules of society but, rather, to divine nature (1:424–25). In his opinion those who, without natural inclination, become priests, lawyers, judges, army officers, and scholars must, invariably, turn into hypocrites, tormentors, embezzlers, plunderers, and teachers of evil. Their transgressions ultimately destroy the republic (1:426). The colloquy's most ardent invectives are voiced by Hryhorij against the theological training of a multitude of larvae which, eventually, metamorphose into swarms

[47] Beyond pedagogical strategies, many tenets of Skovoroda's thought—i.e., his emphasis on spiritually sensuous enjoyment (*voluptas*), his theory of self- knowledge and advocacy of nature—can also be linked to the teachings of Erasmus. These topics, however, lie outside the scope of this paper.

of preachers totally unsuited to the profession (1: 439–40).[48]

Erasmus may have had special appeal to Skovoroda in the turbulent eighteenth century for, in some important respects, both men were reacting to similar phenomena. The Humanist scholar formulated his theology on the eve of the religious controversies that enveloped Europe in the sixteenth century. The Ukrainian preceptor, on the other hand, lived at a time when central and eastern Ukraine were engulfed by serious social upheavals. In the 1760s the policies of Catherine II tightened even further the laws of corvée regulating the Ukrainian peasantry. Frequently, not only social and ethnic but also religious factors separated rebelling serfs from their landowners and administrators. Thus, Skovoroda's theory of art and theology can be seen as a reaction to the discipline crowning quadrivial education at his own alma mater. On the academic level, its scholastic profile had been a valuable aid to Ukrainians in the struggle with their religious opponents. But given the realities of Skovoroda's time—at least in his own eyes—it did very little toward promoting social harmony.

* * *

Erasmus's impact on entire generations of grammar and poetics preceptors is undeniable. Whether he directly influenced Skovoroda is a matter still to be resolved. As I have shown, however, the probabilities of this are high. What is undeniable is that by placing the Ukrainian writer within the pedagogical traditions of the trivium, levels of meaning in his oeuvre are fleshed out which otherwise would remain undetected.

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[48] Exhibiting a typically Renaissance inclusionism of genres and languages, this colloquy is spiced with aphorisms and adages, and is illustrated with emblems and mottoes. It concludes with a Latin fable (which is also rendered in the Ukrainian *lingua volgare*), the object of which is to support Hryhorij's thesis: i.e., decorous observance of *divina natura* and the discovery of one's natural calling is the source of true pleasure and the precondition to happiness.

Pylyp Orlyk in Exile: The Religious Dimension

OREST SUBTELNY

The deep religiosity of Pylyp Orlyk is well known.[1] Indeed, it can be argued that he was the most pious as well as the most learned of all the Cossack leaders. In his numerous documents, manifestoes, and especially in his voluminous *Diariusz* there are repeated indications of the depth and sophistication of Orlyk's knowledge of Christian theology, doctrine, and ritual. Moreover, his erudition and fascination with religious matters encompassed both Orthodoxy and Catholicism.[2]

Orlyk's personal background undoubtedly helps to explain this abiding concern for religious issues. Born of a religiously mixed marriage—his father was Catholic and his mother Orthodox—Orlyk's early years were spent in the generally Catholic environment of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. But because his Catholic father died when Orlyk was only one year old, the influence of his Orthodox mother apparently prevailed at home. Orlyk's first-rate education continued to reflect a denominational duality. Initially, he attended the excellent Jesuit academy at Vilnius; later he completed his studies in the Kiev Mohyla Academy, the leading Orthodox institution of higher learning in Eastern Europe at the time. During his studies in Kiev and even afterwards, leading churchmen such as Stefan Iavors'kyi (whom Orlyk referred to as "my beloved teacher, confidant, and benefactor") exerted a crucial influence on the young man. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first position that Orlyk secured in his new homeland was that of secretary in the chancellery of the metropolitan of Kiev.

Throughout his life Orlyk remained an avid reader of religious literature. He even translated into Polish part of a well-known French history of the Greek Schism.[3] His *Diariusz* is replete with summaries of lengthy and animated discussions on theological and doctrinal issues that Orlyk held with his close friends, the Orthodox clergymen and Jesuits of Salonika. As might be expected, Orlyk's political plans also bore the imprint of his religious concerns. An example is the proposal Orlyk submitted to Rome to

[1] See Orest Subtelny, "Introduction," to *The* Diariusz podrożny *of Pylyp Orlyk (1720–1726)*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature:Texts, 5 (Cambridge, 1989), pp. xxvii–xxx.

[2] Subtelny, "Introduction," pp. xxvii–xxx, fn. 33.

[3] See *Diariusz* (as in fn. 1, above) 8, fol. 214. The author of the work was the Jesuit Louis Maimbourg (1610–1686.).

facilitate the expansion of Catholicism into the Russian Empire.[4] Other examples were his frequent and gnawing personal doubts about political cooperation with Ottomans and Tatars because they were the traditional enemies of Christendom.[5]

These facts are, however, the external or formal indicators of Orlyk's religiosity. One wonders to what extent the Hetman actually internalized the Christian values which he openly and enthusiastically espoused. How intense and sincere was his personal commitment to Christianity? To deal with this question one must consult Orlyk's unique and voluminous *Diariusz*, for only it provides us with unparalleled insights into the inner world of this major figure in early modern Ukrainian history. The *Diariusz* contains numerous, frequently moving indications of Orlyk's unusually deep faith, but one episode in particular stands out as a dramatic reminder to the modern reader of the powerful impact that religion exerted on the mentality of Orlyk and some of his contemporaries. The event occurred in Salonika in 1732, during the final year of Orlyk's forced internment in the Ottoman Empire. Summarized below is Orlyk's lengthy and detailed record of an experience that clearly absorbed and moved him as few others did in his long decades of exile.[6]

* * *

1732

3 March, Monday—Orlyk notes that one of his servants, Kazimierz, is missing from his household.

4 March, Tuesday—A Bulgarian who serves as a guard at the local pasha's jail brings astonishing news. The previous evening Kazimierz appeared, in a somewhat agitated condition, before the pasha and stated that he, a free and educated man, wished to accept Islam. The pasha summoned a hodja in whose presence Kazimierz declared three times that he wished to become a

4 See A. Petrushevych, "Pys'mo Fylippa Orlyka, het'mana predniprovs'kykh Kozakov, k heneralnomu asystentu Jezuitov v Rymi 1727 g.," *Literaturnyi sbornik* (Lviv), 1871, pp. 158–82.

5 See O. Subtelny, "Political Cooperation and Religious Antagonism: Aspects of Cossack Relations with the Turks and Tatars," in *Collected Essays in Honor of Professor Aleksander Ohloblyn* (New York, 1977), pp. 454–64; and idem, "Cossack Ukraine and the Turko-Islamic World," in *Rethinking Ukrainian History*, ed. Ivan L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton and Toronto, 1981), pp. 120–34.

6 Orlyk's full description of the episode may be found in *Diariusz* 11, fols. 295–320.

Muslim.[7] Thereafter, he received a turban and spent the entire night in the company of the pasha and his court.

But when Kazimierz awoke the next day and his companions reminded him that he had accepted Islam, he vigorously rejected the conversion and repeatedly emphasized that he was and wished to remain a Christian. Enfuriated, the pasha put him in chains, cast him into a dungeon, and had him tortured with one-hundred-fifty blows bastinado. However, according to the Bulgarian guard, Kazimierz continues to reject Islam and to reassert his Christianity.

Astonished by the news, Orlyk sends Karol, another servant, to Kazimierz with a message of encouragement. Meanwhile, he attempts to find an explanation for Kazimierz's behavior. Orlyk notes that he always treated Kazimierz well, favoring him above the other servants and paying him a good wage. Soon Karol returns with more information. It seems that, for the moment, the pasha's jailors allow relatively free access to Kazimierz so that conversation with him is possible. Initially, the prisoner claimed that a threat against his life made by one of Orlyk's servants caused him to panic and to act as he did. However, after questioning his servants, Orlyk learns that the threat was made in jest and cannot be the real reason for Kazimierz's precipitous action. Orlyk and his servants agree that what probably unnerved their compatriot was an unfortunate romantic entanglement. They recall that recently Kazimierz became infatuated with a local Greek woman, one noted for her willful and scandalous behavior. Initially, she indicated that she was willing to marry the naïve Kazimierz, but when the latter enthusiastically accepted the idea, she rejected him and married someone else (whom she also abandoned).[8] After the incident, the depressed Kazimierz took to talking to himself frequently and even fantasized that he was discovered in bed with another woman.

Orlyk resolves to inform the local Jesuits about the matter and to press the pasha to free his servant on grounds of mental instability.

5 March, Wednesday—Orlyk visits the local kihai,[9] reports on Kazimierz's bizarre behavior and argues that he should be freed. After receiving a report about the prisoner, the kihai confirms that during the last night he

[7] Hodja (Hoca) is an Islamic scholar or teacher. In Muslim practice it suffices to repeat a profession of faith three times to be accepted as a Muslim.

[8] For a detailed description of the Greek woman's numerous romantic adventures and misadventures, see *Diariusz* 11, fols. 297–98.

[9] Kihai is probably a perversion of the word "kadi." A kadi is the judge who, according to the Islamic theory of law, decides all cases involving questions of civil and criminal law. See *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leyden and London, 1926–27), 2, pt. 2: 606.

behaved abnormally, weeping through much of the night. However, the kihai adds that although the prisoner might be deranged now, his condition was probably normal when he came before the pasha and accepted Islam. The kihai then consults the mufti about the case.[10] The latter's view is that, according to Islamic law, Kazimierz should be put to death if he persists in rejecting Islam. However, the kihai indicates to Orlyk that the mufti's opinion need not be taken too seriously and assures him that Kazimierz will be freed.

Orlyk dispatches a letter to Kazimierz assuring him that he is doing everything possible to save him. He urges his servant to persevere in his Christian faith even if he is tortured again. If efforts at releasing him are not successful, Kazimierz should take comfort in the fact that he will have a glorious opportunity to become a martyr. Death, he writes, is only the moment that marks the beginning of eternity. Moreover, his death will provide the Polish world with a new Polish martyr who will crown the heavens and pray for it.[11]

Karol reports that Kazimierz wept constantly as he read the letter several times. Afterwards he informed Karol that his unfortunate romance was not the real reason for his desperate action. Actually, his behavior is related to events in his past of which Orlyk and his staff were unaware. Kazimierz reveals that he was once a Trinitarian monk and a deacon. He also received a master of philosophy degree from the Jesuit academy in Vilnius. But because he committed an unspecified act of apostasy against his order, he fled from the monastery. Wracked by pangs of conscience, he traveled to Rome to obtain forgiveness for his actions. On his way back, he was kidnapped by Venetians who dispatched him to Corfu for seven years. Thereafter, he made his way to Salonika and entered Orlyk's service. Kazimierz indicated that these misfortunes—especially the guilt over his initial apostasy and the dread that he may have damned his soul forever—unhinged him and led him to his second, and even greater, apostasy.

Karol also reported that the Turks all agree that Kazimierz is mentally deranged. They also informed Karol that the pasha had initially taken a great liking to Kazimierz and even spoke of appointing him as his selichtar,

10 Mufti is a canon lawyer of standing who renders a formal legal opinion to a question submitted to him either by a judge or by a private individual. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2, pt. 1: 92.

11 Although Kazimierz (Antoni Kibort) was not necessarily of an ethnic Polish background, Orlyk considered him to be politically and culturally Polish because he was a subject of the Polish Commonwealth and the product of a Polish Catholic education.

a position of great influence.[12] Before leaving Kazimierz, Karol urged him to feign before the Turks that he was mentally deranged. But Kazimierz steadfastly repeated that he was prepared for torture and martyrdom. He did, however, beg that a priest be sent to him to hear his confession. A Christian guard indicated that he was willing to let a confessor secretly visit the prisoner.

Orlyk goes immediately to Father Tarillon, the senior Jesuit in Salonika.[13] He implores him to talk to Kazimierz so that he will not change his mind about renouncing Islam and to hear his confession. Fearful of irritating the pasha, Tarillon refuses. He argues that many martyrs went to their deaths without a confession. Orlyk leaves incensed.

6 March, Thursday—Orlyk again begs Tarillon to visit Kazimierz. He suggests that if the Jesuit will not go personally he should at least write to the prisoner and support him in his decision to become a martyr. Alternatively he could send his subordinate, Father Souciet, to the prisoner. Tarillon refuses again.

Orlyk writes a second letter of encouragement to Kazimierz. He cites the cases of apostles and saints who were saved from apostasy, noting that even the greatest sinner can have hope of salvation.[14] He prepares Kazimierz for the possibility that no confessor will visit him, arguing that if one is truly remorseful about his sins that alone will assure absolution. Orlyk also inquires about Kazimierz's family or others who should be informed about his possible death.

Karol returns with news that Kazimierz is ready to die without formal absolution. Nonetheless, he implores Orlyk to arrange for a confessor to visit him, if at all possible. The prisoner has also revealed more information about himself. His real name is Antoni Kibort. Born in 1699 in the village of Witajci in Samogitia, he was christened in the town of Betygala in Ariogala county. His father's name was Kazimierz Kibort and his mother's maiden name was Magdalena Wojdowska. In 1715 he entered the Trinitarian Order and lived in its monastery in Vilnius. There he became a deacon and studied for a master of philosophy degree. In 1722 he committed apostasy against his order and fled the monastery. His uncle, also named Kibort, is a Jesuit who teaches in the academy in Vilnius.

12 Selichtar means swordbearer. In the Ottoman Empire such officials often controlled communication to and from high dignitaries.

13 For Orlyk's ties with the Jesuits, see Subtelny, "Introduction," p. xxix., fn. 39.

14 Orlyk had a longstanding interest in the question of apostasy. See, for example, *Diariusz* 8, fol. 31.

Orlyk notes that he had heard of the Kiborts, a fairly numerous szlachta clan in Samogitia. Moreover, he specifically remembers the Jesuit Kibort from his days at the Vilnius academy. However, later Antoni (alias Kazimierz) informs him that he does not belong to the szlachta branch of the family but is a commoner. He repeats his ardent desire for a confessor.

7 March, Friday—Orlyk again sends a message about the issue of confession to the Jesuit Tarillon. When the latter does not respond, Orlyk personally goes to his quarters. A fierce argument ensues, but Tarillon remains unswayed. However, his junior associate, the Jesuit Souciet, overhears the argument and, as Orlyk is leaving, promises to hear the prisoner's confession.

8 March, Saturday—Father Souciet arrives in Orlyk's quarters, disguises himself as the hetman's cook and, accompanied by Karol, goes to the prison. Upon their arrival they notice that a Turkish guard has replaced the Christian Bulgarian. Guessing what Souciet's intentions are, the Turkish guard nonetheless allows the Jesuit to enter the dungeon and to hear the confession of Antoni and that of a fellow Christian prisoner. Upon Souciet's safe return, Tarillon voices disapproval of his action.

In the afternoon, Antoni is brought before the mulla, who urges him to accept Islam.[15] But Antoni continues to refuse. He is given three days to ponder his decision with the warning that if he persists in his rejection of Islam, he will be executed. Antoni declares that he is ready to die.

9 March, Sunday—Orlyk continues his efforts to save Antoni. He approaches both the mulla and the mufti with offers of presents but is rebuffed. Antoni sends a message to Orlyk begging forgiveness for the trouble he has caused, expressing his gratitude, and bidding farewell.

10 March, Monday—As the deadline for the final decision approaches, Orlyk fears that Antoni might give in and accept Islam. He writes a third letter to the prisoner, urging him to remain firm in his resolve to die as a Christian. Antoni should be especially careful at the moment of his execution for that is when the Muslims will tempt him the most. God forbid that for the sake of saving his life he should accept Islam. The hetman warns that the Turks will kill him anyway and, moreover, will have the satisfaction of having him die a Muslim.

Two Armenians arrive at Orlyk's quarters and inform him that the kihai is ready to intercede before the pasha on Antoni's behalf. But he asks for a great amount of money. Orlyk informs the Armenians that the most he can

[15] Mulla is a religious scholar or dignitary.

raise is one hundred gold pieces. The Armenians indicate that the kihai will probably proceed in the matter for this amount. Frantically, Orlyk attempts to raise the money. He asks Tarillon to approach the French consul and French merchants of Salonika to make a contribution from a special fund that they have for liberating Christian captives and slaves. Tarillon refuses. However, the Orthodox metropolitan agrees to sponsor a house-to-house collection to raise the money.

By means of the Armenians Orlyk dispatches fifty gold pieces to the kihai. One of the Armenians later returns with a demand for at least twenty more gold pieces but Orlyk can produce only ten more. The kihai accepts the sixty gold pieces.

Later in the day, Antoni is brought before the mulla again. Once more he is urged to accept Islam and again he refuses. The mulla hands him over to the Jewish executioner to be hanged. As he is being led away by the executioner, the kihai intercedes and orders that Antoni be returned to jail. Orlyk sends a message to Antoni informing him that there is a possibility that he might be saved. But the prisoner expresses little emotion, stating only "Let God's will be done," and adding "I will gratefully accept either life or death."

11 March, Monday—The Armenian arrives to inform Orlyk that the pasha accepted his sixty gold pieces, but that the kihai wants twenty more for himself and the officials of the court. Unable to raise the required amount, Orlyk sends the kihai cloth and ten gold pieces.

The kihai sends a message that this night, in secret and incognito, Antoni will be brought to Orlyk's quarters. An announcement will be made that he escaped. The pasha demands that Antoni not stay in the area but be sent away immediately. Orlyk requests Tarillon's aid in getting Antoni on a departing ship. Tarillon refuses.

12 March, Tuesday—Orlyk dispatches a servant to inquire why Antoni was not brought to him last night. The kihai informs him that he is content with the gifts and will specify which official received what amount. He assures Orlyk that Antoni will be secretly released tonight.

Two hours later, the Bulgarian guard rushes up to Orlyk to inform him that Antoni is being led off to be hanged. Incredulous, the hetman sends a servant to find out what is happening. He decides to go to church. On the way he speculates that the Turks are trying to intimidate Antoni again. But before he reaches the church, a breathless servant informs him that Antoni has just been hanged nearby, before the city gates. Antoni went to his death bravely, praying constantly. Even though the rope snapped on the first attempt to hang him and the executioner completed his task only on the

second attempt, Antoni's face remained remarkably composed in death.[16]

Orlyk goes to Tarillon to inform him of the heroic death. The Jesuit is not impressed. He reveals that he knew from a previous confession of Antoni's initial apostasy, of his journey to Rome again to gain absolution, and of his abduction by Venetians. Orlyk raises the matter of retrieving Antoni's body. Tarillon argues that this would be a waste of money and it is better if the Turks cast it into the sea.

A servant arrives with sixty gold pieces that the pasha is returning and the pasha's explanation for the turn of events. It seems that the pasha feared that after Antoni was released, Orlyk would complain to the grand vizier that the pasha had jailed his servant and extorted a bribe for his release. In such a case, the pasha would have had to return the money and, moreover, he would have been punished for having failed to defend Islam. Therefore, he decided to refuse the bribe and to proceed with the execution.

13 March, Thursday—The pasha requests that Orlyk not bear him a grudge for what happened. He argues that even if Caesar or the tsar of Moscow had done what Antoni did, they, too, would have had to be executed. Orlyk responds that he is not angry, for both parties remained true to their principles: the pasha acted according to Islamic law and Antoni remained loyal to his Christian faith. There is no need to discuss the matter further.

Orlyk also requests that Antoni be given a Christian burial. The pasha agrees and gives permission to take down the body.

14 March, Friday—Orlyk has a casket prepared. Two Christian grave diggers arrive and volunteer their services so that the Jewish executioner not defile the body by touching it. The executioner gladly agrees. He adds that as he led Antoni to the execution, he tried to persuade him to accept Islam "with his mouth, not his heart" and thus save himself. Afterwards he could run away and return to his faith. But Antoni ordered him to be silent and continued with his prayers.

As Orlyk and Tarillon take the body to the burial grounds outside the city, they encounter a large crowd of Turks involved in some sort of entertainment. Fearful of trouble, Tarillon wants to turn back. But Orlyk insists that they go on and complete the burial.

When Orlyk returns, crowds of local Christians surround his quarters, begging for pieces of the shirt in which Antoni died and of the rope used in the execution. The local Orthodox clergy also makes similar requests.

[16] An Italian prisoner who also committed apostasy and then rejected Islam was executed along with Antoni. Because of torture and lengthy imprisonment, the Italian was in such poor condition that he had to be carried to his execution.

After some difficulty, Orlyk obtains most of the shirt and rope from the gravediggers and divides them up among his staff and the clergy, and keeps portions for himself.

He notes in conclusion that, remarkably, during the three hot days and nights that Antoni's body hung from the gallows, it, particularly the face with eyes and mouth remaining peacefully closed, showed no signs of swelling or discoloration.[17]

Orlyk's final notation for the day reads: "Let him rest with the Holy Father, in the heaven of martyrs, and let him pray for us sinners, and most of all for me."

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[17] On 23 March 1732, Orlyk sent a letter to his friend, Father Gresset, the superior general of the Jesuits in Istanbul, informing him about death of the "new martyr." See *Diariusz* 11, fol. 340.

The Cossack Chronicles and the Development of Modern Ukrainian Culture and National Identity

FRANK E. SYSYN

At the beginning of the Ukrainian cultural renaissance of the late 1980s, the literary journal *Kyiv* devoted some two hundred pages to the publication of extracts of a modern Ukrainian translation of Samiilo (Samuil) Velychko's *Skazanie*.[1] Taking advantage of the loosening of censorship in Ukraine, the editors of *Kyiv* rushed into print an early eighteenth-century work previously published in its entirety in 1854 and in part in 1926. By using the precious space of their journal for this endeavor, the editors could be sure that a general reading public, long denied access to the Cossack histories of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, would seek out the issues of *Kyiv*. They could also assume that publishing the text serially, rather than waiting for the translation of the lengthy chronicle in book form, would be viewed as prudent, given the past experience of Ukrainian scholarship and publishing; the Ukrainian cultural revival of the 1960s and early 1970s had been cut short just as the Archaeographic Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences issued the Eyewitness Chronicle and announced its plans to publish the Cossack chronicles and other historical works.[2]

The Ukrainian fixation on medieval and early modern texts may seem an anomaly in the cultural map of Europe and the Americas of the late twentieth century. The Ukrainian diaspora responded generously to Omeljan Pritsak's proposal to publish dozens of volumes in the original and in English and modern Ukrainian translations in the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. The Archaeographic Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences planned scores of volumes of texts and documents, with high priority given to the earlier periods. By the late 1980s, the public in Ukraine realized that not only was it faced with "blank spots" in its history, it had to abandon the Soviet Ukrainian version of its past entirely. As Ukrainians sought to reconstruct a historical consciousness that had been

[1] "Litopys Samiila Velychka," trans. Valerii Shevchuk, *Kyiv*, 1986, no. 10, pp. 112–36; no. 11, pp. 133–50; 1987, no. 1, pp. 141–62; no. 2, pp. 128–40; no. 3, pp. 136–50; no. 4, pp. 120–41; no. 5, pp. 139–59; no. 7, pp. 132–43; no. 8, pp. 134–42; no. 9, pp. 131–45; no. 10, pp. 147–57; no. 12, pp. 129–45. It has just appeared as Samiilo Velychko, *Litopys: Tom pershyi*, trans. Valerii Shevchuk (Kiev, 1991).

[2] See Iaroslav Dzyra, ed., *Litopys Samovydtsia* (Kiev, 1971).

virtually liquidated, they turned their attention to the Cossack past—taboo since the early 1970s. The public pageants throughout Ukraine and the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1991 functioned as a mechanism for instilling national pride in the Ukrainian populace.

The centrality of the Cossack era to Ukrainian historical consciousness explains why the reading public in contemporary Ukraine finds access to Cossack chronicles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries so important. When the modern reader encounters the texts, he or she does not have the benefit of a large body of scholarship that establishes authoritative editions, identifies authors and sources, discusses the Cossack chronicles as a genre, and places them in the context of the evolution of Ukrainian historiography.[3] This situation reflects the disadvantaged state of Ukrainian historical studies in the nineteenth century and the virtual abolition since the 1920s of Ukrainian textual publications and historical research in Soviet Ukraine, with the exception of the short thaw of the 1960s and early 1970s. Without the basic textual research completed, the process of interpreting the significance of the Cossack chronicles for eighteenth-century Ukrainian culture, which Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi called for over sixty years ago, can hardly be undertaken.[4] Thus, while the use of the chronicle manuscripts or printed editions by nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ukrainian historians and writers has generally been established, there has been relatively little discussion of the role of the Cossack chronicles of the turn of the eighteenth century in the evolution of modern Ukrainian culture and national identity. This essay suggests how the study of the texts known as the "Cossack chronicles" can explain the significance of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century for Ukrainian cultural history and the evolution of

[3] For bibliographic information, see Mykola Marchenko, *Ukrains'ka istoriohrafiia, z davnikh chasiv do seredyny XIX st.* (Kiev, 1959); Dmytro Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography," and Oleksander Ohloblyn, "Ukrainian Historiography, 1917–1956," which together constitute *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 5/6, no. 4(18)–1/2(19/20) (1957); Dmytro Bahalii, *Narys ukrains'koi istoriohrafii*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1923–1925) (=*Zbirnyk ist.-fil. viddilu UAN*, 1–2); Vladimir Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoi istoriografii*, vol. 2, bk. 2 (Kiev, 1908); and Iaroslav Dzyra, "Ukrains'ki litopysy XVI–XVIII st. v radians'kii istoriohrafii," *Istorychni dzherela ta ikh vykorystannia* 3 (1968): 177–89. See also Leonid Makhnovets', comp., *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky: Biobibliohrafichnyi slovnyk*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1960). In this essay, only the more recent literature, not included in the standard bibliographic works, will be cited.

[4] See Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (Grushevskii), "Ob ukrainskoi istoriografii XVIII veka. Neskol'ko soobrazhenii," *Izvestiia Akademii nauk SSR. Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk*, 12th ser., 3 (1934): 215–33 (in English translation: "Some Reflections on Ukrainian Historiography of the XVIII Century," trans. Zenon Kohut, in *The Eyewitness Chronicle*, pt. 1 [1878; reprint Munich, 1972] [=Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 7], pp. 9*–16*).

Ukrainian national identity.

Although the Eyewitness Chronicle, Hryhorii Hrabianka's *Deistviia*, and Samiilo Velychko's *Skazanie* traditionally are all called the "Cossack chronicles" and all three remained in manuscript form until the end of the eighteenth century, the three works differ considerably in form, transmission, and content. Closest to traditional chronicle form, the Eyewitness Chronicle was written by an unknown author at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century.[5] Time, place, and authorship of composition have remained hotly debated, with Roman Rakushka as the favored candidate for author on the basis of internal evidence. Written in Middle Ukrainian, the chronicle is the earliest extant Ukrainian account of the history of Ukraine in the second half of the seventeenth century. Whether its compiler witnessed the events of Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising himself and wrote them down later or whether he incorporated an earlier account into his text remains uncertain. In either case, the laconic Eyewitness Chronicle is the only Cossack chronicle still credited with containing some primary information on the Khmel'nyts'kyi period. Although it is assumed to have served as a source for Hrabianka's and Velychko's works, only two copies of the chronicle from the first half of the eighteenth century, and six in total, were known to the publishers of the1846 and 1878 editions.[6]

Hrabianka's *Deistviia* differs in almost every way.[7] Although many manuscripts of the work contain no attribution of authorship, the few that name Hryhorii Hrabianka are viewed as sufficiently authoritative to establish the author as Hrabianka and the year of initial composition as 1709. Written in literary Slavonic, *Deistviia* traces the history of the Cossacks and "Little Rus'" back to biblical times. The intricate discussion of the Khazar

[5] Of all the Cossack chronicles, the Eyewitness Chronicle, and primarily its authorship, has been the subject of the most extensive scholarly discussion. This literature is mentioned in the Harvard reprint of Orest Levyts'kyi's 1878 edition (see fn. 4 above) and in the introduction to Iaroslav Dzyra's edition, *Litopys Samovydtsia*, pp. 9–42. In particular, see the monograph by Mykola Petrovs'kyi, *Narysy istorii Ukrainy XVII–pochatku XVIII st.*, vol. 1, *Doslidy nad litopysom Samovydtsia* (Kharkiv, 1930).

[6] For a discussion of texts and editions, see Omeljan Pritsak's review of Dzyra, ed., *Litopys Samovydtsia*, in *Recenzija* 2, no. 1 (1971): 27–58.

[7] *Deistviia prezel'noi i ot nachala poliakov krvavshoi nebyvaloi brani Bohdana Khmelnitskoho, hetmana zaporozhskoho, s poliaki...* (The Course of the greatest, bloodiest and, from the beginnings of the Polish nation, unprecedented war of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, Zaporozhian hetman, against the Poles...) has been reprinted in *Hryhorij Hrabjanka's The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 9, and includes the 1793 and 1854 printed editions as well as photoreproductions of two manuscripts. The volume also includes a full bibliography and an introduction by Yuri Lutsenko on the textual history and literary qualities of the chronicle/history.

origins of the Cossacks and Ukrainians places the author's people in historical context and serves as a prelude to the intended subject of the work—a narrative literary history of the age of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi.[8] The work becomes laconic after 1657 and takes the form of chronicle entries after 1664. The approximately fifty extant eighteenth-century manuscripts demonstrate that Hrabianka's work functioned as the primary historical work in the eighteenth-century Hetmanate.

Velychko's compendium constitutes the most ample account of Ukrainian history; while items from the earlier period are included, it deals primarily with the post-1648 period.[9] Samiilo Velychko's original survived intact, but the folios for the years 1649–1652 are missing and are not found in the one eighteenth-century copy. Still, it is the first volume of his work, extending to 1660, that exhibits Velychko's skills as a stylist. His subsequent volumes are of greater significance as historical sources but lack the polish of the first, which ostensibly retells the Polish poet and historian Samuel Twardowski's *Wojna Domowa* but in reality creates a new account.[10] As with Hrabianka's work, it is only convention that causes this historical narrative, divided into chapters, to be called a chronicle. Although Velychko cast his work in more accessible language and addressed himself frequently to his reader, the large unpublished manuscript had only one eighteenth-century copy and did not gain the currency that the shorter, if linguistically more abstruse, Hrabianka chronicle achieved.

The chronicles, or, more properly, the histories, written between the 1690s and the 1720s, represent a distinct stage not only in Ukrainian history writing but also in Ukrainian cultural history. Their examination leads to a better understanding of Ukrainian culture at one of its crucial junctures.

[8] See the introduction by Omeljan Pritsak to *The Diariusz podrożny of Pylyp Orlyk (1727–1731)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 6, pp. xv–xxvii.

[9] *Skazanie o voini Kozatskoi z poliakamy i rech Zinoviia Bohdana Khmelnitskoho Hetmana Voisk Zaporozhskikh...* (The Tale of the Cossack war against the Poles begun by Zynoviy Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, the hetman of the Zaporozhian Host...) was published by the Vremennaia komissiia dlia razbora drevnikh aktov (Temporary Commission for the Analysis of Old Documents) as *Lĕtopis' sobytii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, 4 vols. (Kiev, 1848–1864). The first volume was republished in Kiev in 1926: *Samiila Velychka Skazanie o voinî kozatskoi z poliakamy*, ed. Kateryna Lazarevs'ka, Monumenta Litterarum Ucrainicarum, 16. On Velychko, see Iaroslav Dzyra, "Samiilo Velychko ta ioho litopys," *Istoriohrafichni doslidzhennia v URSR* 6 (1971): 198–223.

[10] Samuel Twardowski, *Wojna domowa z Kozaki i Tatary, Moskwą potym Szwedami i z Węgry, przez dwanaście lat za panowania Najjaśniejszego Jana Kazimierza, Króla Polskiego, tocząca się...* (Kalisz, 1681); and V. Petrykevych, *Litopys S. Velychka a "Wojna domowa" S. Tvardovs'koho* (Ternopil', 1910).

The most salient common characteristic of the works is that they remained in manuscript form for about one hundred years. Extensive study of the introduction of printing in Ukraine in the sixteenth century and its development in the seventeenth century has diverted attention from the continued and even primary function of manuscripts in Ukraine until the early nineteenth century. Ukraine initially had a diversified and decentralized printing trade, with numerous small presses and relatively light state or ecclesiastical control. In this respect it differed greatly from Muscovy, where centralized state printing enjoyed greater resources but suffered from greater control.

By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, as presses foundered and secular printing stagnated, some of the diversity and vitality went out of Ukrainian book production. In the Hetmanate, printing was concentrated at the ecclesiastical presses of the Kiev Lavra, Chernihiv, and Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, and the Hetmanate's administration did not develop its own press for the printing of civil decrees and documents of state. During the reign of Peter, secular printing was confined to the imperial capitals, and the individuality of ecclesiastical printing in Ukraine was severely restricted.

Weaknesses in the Hetmanate's civil administration, economic underdevelopment, and the policies imposed by the imperial Russian government combined to restrict much eighteenth-century culture to manuscript transmission. Unlike Russian culture and scholarship, which were stimulated by the rapidly expanding presses of St. Petersburg and Moscow, eighteenth-century Ukrainian culture may have regressed from the extent of printing used in the seventeenth century. Only statistical research can resolve the question, but it is plausible that the percentage of significant cultural works that appeared in print in the eighteenth century may be lower than that for the early seventeenth century. Certainly this is true of historical works: far from initiating a flourishing publishing tradition of historical works, the three editions of *Synopsis* published between 1674 and 1681 were instead followed by a vacuum.[11] Consequently, the historiographical production of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ukraine circulated in manuscript form. With its close connection to political concerns, historical writings often embodied views that the Russian imperial government did not wish to see in print. However, in the manuscript culture of eighteenth-century Ukraine, the relatively small elite could produce and disseminate their ideas in handwritten form. By the early nineteenth century, the archaic

[11] See Hans Rothe, ed., *Sinopsis, Kiev 1681* (Cologne, 1983) for a facsimile edition of *Synopsis* and a discussion of the work and literature on it.

nature of Ukrainian cultural transmission was best illustrated by the circulation in manuscript of *Istoriia Rusov*, a historical account affirming Ukrainian political culture and identity that embodied views of the French Enlightenment and was probably written after 1800.[12]

The traditions of the Ukrainian manuscript culture that endured well into the nineteenth century have never been carefully studied. Only after inventories of manuscripts have been compiled, and patrons, scriptoria, marketing, and methods of dissemination have been established can an accurate examination of the relative importance of printed books and manuscript works be undertaken, and the extent of their influence and reception be estimated. Indeed, the significance of the Cossack chronicles for their age and for subsequent generations prior to their publication—primarily in the 1840s and 1850s—can only be understood in the context of the manuscript tradition in Ukraine.[13]

Two well-known textual perplexities of Ukrainian cultural history illustrate the complexity of the relationship between printed and manuscript texts. Hrabianka's *Deistviia* was first published in 1793 in the journal *Rossiiskii magazin*, albeit in a russified and somewhat distorted form and without Hrabianka's name. Far from supplanting the manuscript copies as the primary form in which Ukrainian society read *Deistviia*, the St. Petersburg printed text was so little known that *Deistviia*'s Kiev editors in the 1850s were unaware of the existence of the 1793 edition.[14]

Despite this testimony to the occasional greater efficacy of manuscript transmission in the weakly developed book market of the Russian Empire, the second textual quandary demonstrates the more frequent situation—that printed books have been better preservers of texts. Samiilo Velychko, in discussing the sources for his work, declared his reliance on the "three Samuels"—Twardowski, Puffendorf, and Zorka. Twardowski's *Wojna Domowa*, the Polish-language historical epic, printed in full in 1681, constituted the most widely read of the seventeenth-century printed works representing the Polish viewpoint of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising. A Latin

12 See Oleksandr Bodians'kyi (Aleksandr Bodianskii), ed., *Istoriia Rusov ili Maloi Rossii. Sochinenie Georgiia Koniskogo, Arkhiepiskopa Belorusskogo* (Moscow, 1846) (also published in *Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, 1846, nos. 1–4); and the Ukrainian translation, with introduction, *Istoriia Rusiv*, ed. Oleksander Ohloblyn (New York, 1956). Of the newer literature, see Stefan Kozak, *U źródeł Romantyzmu i nowożytnej myśli społecznej na Ukrainie* (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, 1978).

13 One of the few studies of the manuscript tradition in Ukraine is Olena Apanovych (E. Apanovich), *Rukopisnaia svetskaia kniga XVIII v. na Ukraine. Istoricheskie sborniki* (Kiev, 1983).

14 See Lutsenko's introduction to *The Great War*, pp. xvii and xliv.

translation of the German Puffendorf's history reached Velychko in a translated Russian volume.[15] Both sources are relatively accessible and the extent to which Velychko drew from them can easily be checked. But the third, a Ukrainian manuscript source mentioned by Velychko—namely, the diary of Khmel'nyts'kyi's scribe Samuil Zorka—has never been found. Not only have scholars been unable to establish conclusively what material Velychko drew from the diary, they have been unable to decide whether Zorka and his diary ever existed, whether Velychko trusted a concocted later manuscript attributed to a Samuil Zorka, or whether he himself created Zorka and his purported diary.[16] The printed book, with its greater certitude of authorship and date of composition, was a more dependable source for Velychko, just as its better chances of survival offer modern scholars greater opportunities to evaluate it as a source for the historical works of early eighteenth-century Ukraine.

The second formal aspect of note in the chronicles is their language. Much attention has been devoted of late to the language question and to diglossia in Orthodox Slavic culture.[17] Ukraine and Belorussia do not fit easily into the models proposed because consciousness of the difference between Ruthenian and Slavonic did emerge in the sixteenth century and sporadic attempts to develop Ruthenian occurred. The increasing use of Polish in secular literature and administration reduced the need of Rutheno-Slavonic for these purposes, while Latin functioned ever more as the language of scholarship and theology, to the detriment of Slavonic's development. The Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising and the emergence of the Hetmanate halted these processes. Ukrainian-Ruthenian was strengthened as a language of administration and literary productivity, while Slavonic expanded in use in a society with an Orthodox elite that shared Slavonic with Muscovy/Russia. Slavonic remained the preferred literary language, but the linguistic situation continued to be quite fluid into the early eighteenth century. The Slavonic *Synopsis*, traditionally ascribed to Inokentii Gizel, and Feodosii Sofonovych's Ruthenian *Kroinika* serve as examples from the 1670s of the use of Slavonic and of Ruthenian-Ukrainian in historical works. In these particular cases, the choice of language for the

[15] *Vvedenie v gistoriiu evropeiskuiu chrez Samuila Pufendorfiia, na nemetskom iazytse slozhennoe, tazhe chrez Ioanna Friderika Kramera na latinskii prelozhennoe...* (St. Petersburg, 1718).

[16] See Mykola Petrovs'kyi, "Pseudo-diariush Samiila Zorki," *Zapysky Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN* 17 (1928): 161–204.

[17] See Riccardo Picchio, ed., *Studi sulla Questione della lingua presso gli Slavi* (Rome, 1972); and Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt, eds., *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1984).

work was related to its audience. Intended for a Russian as well as for a Ukrainian-Belorussian public, *Synopsis* had to be in Slavonic, while Sofonovych, who directed his work toward his own countrymen, could use Ruthenian-Ukrainian. The Ruthenian-Ukrainian Eyewitness Chronicle and Velychko and the Slavonic Hrabianka represent the vitality of the two traditions until the early eighteenth century. In the eighteenth century, Slavonic, the language of instruction and of the church, won out over Ukrainian-Ruthenian. Closer relations with Russia, where Slavonic was the accepted literary norm, favored this choice, just as did the increasing influence of literary Russian, formed in the eighteenth century with a large Slavonic component. Although the wider popularity of Hrabianka's *Deistviia* can be attributed in part to its superior literary qualities over the Eyewitness Chronicle and to its brevity compared to Velychko's *Skazanie*, its choice of the literary Slavonic may also have recommended it.

The form and genre of the texts also reflect the fluid cultural situation of early modern Ukraine.[18] The transformation of traditional chronicles into the narrative history writing of the Renaissance (or its Baroque continuation) occurred over a long period. But the lack of continuity of Ukrainian chronicles makes it difficult to discuss these processes. This is even true if the West Rus' or Lithuanian chronicles are viewed broadly as part of a Ukrainian tradition. By the sixteenth century, Ukrainians were reading the new Polish Renaissance historiography, which no longer arranged material in chronicle form but sought to narrate fully the causes of events and motivations of persons and patterned itself on classical histories. Although elements of new history writing appear as early as the Hustynia Chronicle, it is only in the works of Hrabianka and Velychko that the new form of history writing emerged in full bloom. Ukrainians were familiar with the classics and with the Polish variants of Renaissance and Baroque culture (or, indeed, with what might properly be called a Commonwealth variant in which individual Ukrainians took part) long before they began adapting these influences to the specifically Ruthenian-Ukrainian cultural sphere. Art, architecture, music, and many literary forms showed signs of adaptation and the evolution of new cultural forms much earlier than did history writing. The assertion that Renaissance history writing finally bore fruit in Ukraine in the early eighteenth century may seem paradoxical when it is remembered that Twardowski and Puffendorf were sources for the Cossack histories. Rather than dwelling upon the relative influences of Renaissance,

[18] See Frank E. Sysyn, "The Cultural, Social and Political Context of Ukrainian History-Writing: 1620–1690," *Europa Orientalis* 5 (1986): 285–310, and Paulina Lewin, "Ancient and Early Modern Thought in Ukrainian Historiography," *Europa Orientalis* 5: 311–31.

Baroque, and new scholarly historiography, and upon characterizations of Velychko and Hrabianka by mechanical periodization, attention should be directed to the early eighteenth-century flowering of history writing as the culmination of the centuries-long process of Western influence and the emergence of a relatively complete Ukrainian cultural synthesis at the turn of the eighteenth century.

Authorship constitutes an indication of the change in Ukrainian culture from clerical to lay involvement. Although the author of the Eyewitness Chronicle remains unknown, no specialist has advanced a clerical rather than a lay candidate as author. About Velychko and Hrabianka, there can be no question: the authors belonged to the literate lay elite that emerged during the Hetmanate. The transfer of history writing to the domain of lay authors was noted by contemporaries. In 1718 Semen Savyts'kyi criticized the clerical elite for its failure to write the history of the fatherland, although the clergy possessed the typographies.[19]

The creation of a lay elite as not only a consumer but also as a producer of literary texts represented a new stage in Ukrainian culture. Polonization of the secular elite on the one hand and reinvigorated monastic and ecclesiastical culture on the other had forestalled this transition in the first half of the seventeenth century. The Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising and the establishment of the Hetmanate not only provided favorable conditions for the use of the Ruthenian language in administration but also produced an administrative structure for a new Ukrainian lay elite. In a society with a relatively open social structure, Cossacks, burghers, and peasants could aspire to the positions of Cossack officers, scribes, and city administrators that required literacy. The open social structure permitted children of these groups to aspire to and prepare for clerical status (though all were not subsequently ordained), just as it allowed prominent laymen to seek clerical orders and clergymen to shift occasionally to civil positions. Clerical and lay elite alike attended collegia in Kiev, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, and Novhorod-Sivers'kyi. While the collegia, printing presses, and other aspects of cultural life remained the domain of the black and white clergy, an educated laity made a significant contribution to the creation of a high culture. In history writing their role became dominant, in part because the documentation and legitimization of the revolt that formed the Hetmanate and its subsequent history were of import to the civil leaders of the Hetmanate. Indeed, despite the relative commonality of interests of the lay and clerical elites in the Hetmanate, some tensions within the society were reflected in

[19] The introduction to *Pověsti o kozatskoi voině s Poliakami*, published in Velychko, *Lětopis'*, 4: 1–84.

the Cossack elite's criticism of the clergy's failure to write the history of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising. It was during this same period that the Ukrainian clergy's integration into the Russian Church accelerated; the increasing part played by laity in maintaining a distinct Ukrainian identity was reflected in the importance of the Cossack officers and elite as authors and readers of Ukrainian history.[20]

The Cossack chronicles, or histories, also illustrate one of the successive discontinuities that have characterized Ukrainian culture. Considerable attention has been devoted to the rediscovery of the Kievan Rus' past in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Ukraine. Less study has been devoted to the need of early eighteenth-century Ukrainians to reconstruct the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising. The loss of documents and the absence of authoritative native histories made the generation of 1700 quite uncertain about what had happened in 1648. Velychko's introduction to his work, in which he expresses his shock at the ruin of Right-Bank Ukraine and his bewilderment about how this had all come about, eloquently expresses the impact of discontinuity on historical memory and cultural traditions. The lack of authoritative Ukrainian accounts of the period led Velychko to make a great error or to commit a great fraud. Either he believed that the text purportedly written by Samuil Zorka was authentic, or he invented Zorka and his diary so that he could have authority for presenting the uprising as he wished. Both alternatives demonstrate how little was known in Ukraine of 1720 about the events and reality of 1648.

In all three works under discussion, the focus of interest is the revolt led by Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and its consequences.[21] For the author of the Eyewitness Chronicle, the goal was primarily to record the events of the mid-seventeenth century, the genesis of his society and polity, and all that occurred therein until the end of the century. Hrabianka and Velychko sought to portray Khmelnyts'kyi as the noble leader of his people and the revolt as a just and heroic struggle. Whatever errors and disasters that are subsequently described, the leader and the war are equated with the great heroes and events of classical and modern histories.

The works of Hrabianka and Velychko, and to a lesser degree the Eyewitness Chronicle, constitute an attempt to understand and document how the new Ukrainian polity, society, and culture had emerged and to provide legitimacy for them. By 1700, a generation that thought of Ukraine as

[20] See Hrushevs'kyi's "Ob ukrainskoi istoriografii XVIII veka" ("Some Reflections on Ukrainian Historiography of the XVIII Century").

[21] See Iaroslav Dzyra, "Ukrains'ka istoriohrafiia dr. pol. XVII–pol. XVIII st. ta perekazy pro Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho," *Istoriohrafichni doslidzhennia v URSR* 1 (1968): 171–94.

its fatherland, of the Hetmanate—which by rights should rule both banks of the Dnieper—as its political expression, and of the Ukrainians as its Cossack-Little Rus' people needed to understand how its world had come about and to be assured of its lineage and rights. Hrabianka and Velychko reflected the sentiments of the age and provided historical legitimacy for the political, social, and cultural order. Hrabianka's conflation of the history of the Khazars, the Cossacks, and of the Rus' gave an ancient lineage to the Cossack-Ruthenian people.[22] Velychko likened his generation to the Sarmatians as he sought to reconstruct the past of the "Cossack-Ruthenian" ancestors of the population of "our Ukrainian-Little Rus' fatherland."[23]

The Cossack histories of Hrabianka and Velychko reflect the high point of the emergence of early modern Ukrainian political and cultural identity.[24] This might seem paradoxical in that Velychko's work definitely and Hrabianka's work probably were written after the Battle of Poltava and during the Petrine repressions. Their viewpoint, however, reflects the more confident age and generation of Mazepa. After the wars and destruction of the "Ruin," a stable political and cultural order emerged in Ukraine in the 1680s. With it came a cultural model and a self-identity that was distinct from the neighboring societies (Poland, Muscovy). New as the Hetmanate (and its elite) might be, it was sufficiently stable and distinct to merit an account of its past and of its elite's rights and privileges. The decades after the revolt had provided sufficient time for the traditions of the Rus' revival to merge with the Cossack order. Some vestigal Ruthenian, or at least Little Rus', sentiment remained that even saw Lviv and Kholm as part of the same land as Chyhyryn, Kiev, and Chernihiv. More potent was the concept of "Cossack Ukraine of both Banks of the Dnieper." For the generation of Hrabianka and Velychko, the return of the Right Bank, the unity of the Zaporozhian Sich and the Hetmanate, and the retention of Little Rus' rights in relationship to the Russian tsar remained deeply held aspirations. Indeed, the goal of this generation apparently was to legitimize these aspirations precisely at a time when they were endangered by the disaster at Poltava and the policies of the Russian authorities. While the Hetmanate endured until 1783, no subsequent generation would have such broad aspirations or

22 See Lutsenko's introduction to *The Great War*, pp. xxii–xxvi.

23 See the preface to *Samiila Velychka Skazanie o voinî kozatskoi z poliakamy*, pp. 1–4.

24 For the evolution of concepts of nation in Ukrainian historical texts, see Frank E. Sysyn, "Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History Writing, 1620–1690," in *Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ivo Banac and Frank E. Sysyn (Cambridge, Mass., 1987) (=*Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10, no. 3/4 [December 1986]), pp. 393–423.

cultural-national self-confidence.[25] By the late eighteenth century the geographic and national vision of the Hetmanate's elite shrank to the Malorossiia of the Left-Bank Hetmanate, and the cultural distinctiveness of Ukraine was greatly undermined.

The Cossack histories, like Ukraine of ca. 1700, constitute a formative stage in the evolution of modern Ukrainian identity. Some would see in such a statement a neglect of the medieval period, Galicia-Volhynia, and the Ruthenian revival of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Certainly the early periods were important, but the emergence of concepts of fatherland and nation is largely an early modern phenomenon, and the emergence of a Ukrainian as opposed to a Ruthenian (Belorussian-Ukrainian) higher culture occurred fully only in the late seventeenth century. Specialists in the modern period might object that the modern Ukrainian identity was forged by the nineteenth-century Ukrainian national revival based on ethnolinguistic concerns and that the culture and language of 1700 did not develop continuously into the modern Ukrainian culture and language, just as the polity and social strata of 1700 did not continue into the nineteenth century.

In cultural and intellectual terms the continuity between Ukraine of 1700 and Ukraine of 1750 is greater than has often been supposed. The patterns that specialists in music and art have established for Ukrainian culture—that is, distinct Ukrainian styles merging into an imperial high culture at the end of the eighteenth century—are generally correct, but the process of this merging was not yet fully completed well into the early nineteenth century and was slow to filter into middle and popular culture. The problem is particularly complex because the nineteenth-century national revival occurred within a generation of the extinguishing of the older cultural patterns. Literary and historical texts demonstrate how difficult issues of periodization and continuity are from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. *Istoriia Rusov*, composed in the early nineteenth century in a form similar to the earlier Cossack chronicles, circulated among the descendants of the Cossack officers and the national awakeners well into the 1830s, and then was published in the 1840s. To which Ukrainian cultural formation does it properly belong? Only after more intensive study of education, reading patterns, and the contents of writings will it be possible to decide how distinct the worlds of Skovoroda, Kotliarevs'kyi, and Kulish were.[26]

25 See Zenon E. Kohut, "The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nation-building," in *Concepts of Nationhood*, pp. 559–76.

26 For discussion of the issue of continuity in literature, see Pavlo Zhytets'kyi (Zhitetskii), *Eneida Kotliarevskogo i drevneishii eia spisok v sviazi s istoriei ukrainskoi literatury XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1900) (serialized in *Kievskaia starina*, 1899, no. 10, pp. 1–30; no. 11, pp. 127–66; no.

The Cossack chronicles/histories of the turn of the eighteenth century were published in the 1840s and 1850s. The impact of these texts on the Ukrainian national revival has yet to be studied carefully. Indeed, rather than examining the forms and mindset of the chronicles or discussing their reception in the nineteenth and twentieth century, scholars have concentrated on the veracity of the chronicles above all as a source for the Khmel'nyts'kyi period. These often emotional discussions also have roots in the question of the Ukrainian national movement's reception of the texts. Unlike sources from the Muscovite government or the Polish nobility that survived in abundance from the seventeenth century and were published in the nineteenth century, few Ukrainian sources survived. Published histories and accounts of the Khmel'nyts'kyi revolt by Kochowski, Pastorius, Twardowski, and Białobocki were all from the Polish perspective.[27] The Ukrainian revivalists longed for their own voice about the events and found it in *Istoriia Rusov* and the earlier Cossack chronicles. That they discovered manuscripts that had passed from hand to hand only added to the texts' authority among the Romantics. The populist revivalists could at least see them as analogous to the voice of the people that they found in historic songs and *dumy*.

Soon historical criticism emerged, with Russian and Polish historians, above all Gennadii Karpov, leading the assault against Mykola Kostomarov and others.[28] The critics were largely correct in their questioning of the historical veracity of the chronicles, but their discussions often had a tone that questioned the Ukrainian historical experience and the pro-Khmel'nyts'kyi attitude of Ukrainian historiography. It is only by remembering the early significance of the texts and the tone of national polemics that we can understand why, well into the twentieth century, historians such as Dmytro

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12, pp. 277–300; 1900, no. 1, pp. 16–45; no. 2, pp. 163–91; no. 3, pp. 312–36). On the development of eighteenth-century Ukrainian culture, see Iaroslav D. Isaievych, "Ukrainskaia kultura XVIII stolettia," *Voprosy istorii*, 1980, no. 8, pp. 85–97.

27 Wespazjan Kochowski, *Annales Poloniae ab obitu Vladislavi Quatri. Scriptore Vespasiano a Kochov Kochovski.* Climacter primus (Cracow, 1683); Joachim Pastorius, *Bellum Scythico-Cosacicum seu de Coniuratione Tatarorum, Cosacorum et Plebis Russicae contra Regnum Poloniae...* (Gdańsk, 1652); Samuel Twardowski, *Wojna domowa* (as in fn. 10 above); and the works by Jan Białobocki: *Pochodnia wojennej sławy...książęcia...Jeremia Michała Korybutta...Wiśniowieckiego* (Cracow, 1649), *Klar męstwa* (Cracow, 1649), *Pogoda jasna Ojczyzny* (Cracow, 1650), *Odmiana postanowienia sfery niestatecznej kozackiej* (Cracow, 1653), and *Brat Tatar abo liga Wilcza z psem na gospodarza* (Cracow, 1652).

28 See Gennadii Karpov, *Kriticheskii obzor razrabotki glavnykh russkikh istochnikov, do istorii Malorossii otnosiashchikhsia, za vremia: 8-e genvaria 1654–30 maia 1672 g.* (Moscow, 1870), *G. Kostomarov kak istorik Malorossii* (Moscow, 1871), and *Nachalo istoricheskoi deiatel'nosti Bogdana Khmel'nitskogo* (Moscow, 1873). On other historians, see John Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study* (Edmonton, 1982).

Bahalii and Pavlo Klepats'kyi still argued that the Zorka diary had indeed existed and that the documents in Velychko were authentic.

The desire to affirm native traditions and to refuse to see obvious elements of anachronism or falseness in texts was not confined to Ukrainians. One need only think of the Czech texts falsified by Václav Hanka in 1817–1818 but defended as legitimate by patriotic Czech historians until the end of the nineteenth century.[29] There is a peculiarity to the Ukrainian situation, however. The Czech forgeries were created to meet the needs of the age in which they had been discovered. The authority of the Zorka diary and the documents purported to be issued by Khmel'nyts'kyi had been created to fit the needs of an earlier age, but once again served the needs of the nineteenth-century Ukrainian revival, even as they do the needs of popular historians and writers up to the present. Hence, documents purporting to be letters of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and legends about the person of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi were introduced twice into the Ukrainian cultural process—at the beginning of the eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The connection between the Ukrainian culture of the early eighteenth-century and that of the mid-nineteenth century is much more fundamental than the mere use of the same texts, some of which were fabricated. The attempts made by Velychko and Hrabianka to save the past from oblivion were analogous to the situation of the national awakeners who were living in the ruins of Cossack Ukraine. The author's introduction to the Velychko Chronicle struck a special chord, with its poignant description of the Right Bank in ruins and its recognition of the failure of the heroic Cossacks to leave a record of their own histories. The two periods had a common interest in questions of Ukrainian political, cultural, and national identity. Just as Kostomarov's historical works were permeated by a patriotic motivation to preserve and disseminate the past of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people, so, too, were the Cossack chronicles, whatever the differences between early modern and modern conceptions of nation and society.

The impact of the Cossack chronicles on modern Ukrainian culture is a two-fold one. On one level, it comes directly from a rereading of the texts by the generations that have had them available. While the tsarist authorities only made publication difficult and censored some texts, the Soviet authorities—with the exception of the publication of the first volume of Velychko in 1926 and the Eyewitness Chronicle in 1971—have restricted access severely. Indeed, the destruction of the Archaeographic

[29] Tomáš G. Masaryk, *The Meaning of Czech History*, ed. Renée Wellek and trans. Peter Kussi (Chapel Hill, 1974), pp. ix–x.

Commission in 1972 and the campaign against Cossackophilism in the 1970s and 1980s may in part explain the contemporary Ukrainian public's fascination with the texts.

As modern translations appear, the professional historian may have to fear that the wider public will prefer Hrabianka's account of the origins of the Cossacks and Velychko's *universaly* on the revolt to the drier factual accounts. Most compelling, however, will be the patriotism toward the Ukrainian fatherland and the Cossack-Rus' people that permeates these works. The professional historian may well point out that words had a different meaning and concepts a different function in the early eighteenth century; but he or she should also ponder the reasons for the immediacy of the response of twentieth-century readers to these almost three-centuries-old texts.

Part of the reason for the extent of current response to the texts is that modern Ukrainian identity was forged under the influence of the chronicles. Through Kostomarov's reading of Hrabianka and Shevchenko's of Velychko, the tenets of modern Ukrainian identity were established. There has been a tendency to see the use of the name "Ukraine," the national cult of Khmel'nyts'kyi, and the myth of the Cossack Ukrainian nation as products of the Romantic period.[30] Instead, it should be seen that the Romantics took concepts and symbols that they found not only in folklore but also in the Cossack chronicles and texts. It may be argued that Romantics of all cultures used historical themes and texts in their historicism. What is of interest in the case of the Ukrainian Cossack chronicles is that they were composed at a time not so distant from the Romantic period, during another Ukrainian national, or proto-national, revival. How the leaders of the nineteenth-century Ukrainian national revival employed the themes and concepts of the chronicles must be carefully studied, but it should be remembered that in their exposition and through their subsequent rediscovery and publication, the Cossack chronicles to a considerable degree set the agenda for modern Ukrainian national identity. Since the 1850s, readers of the Cossack chronicles have, therefore, been influenced by the texts even before they have begun to examine them because the Cossack chronicles profoundly influenced the Ukrainian awakening of the first half of the nineteenth century.

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[30] Two additional issues should be addressed. The first concerns the influence of the earlier Cossack chronicles on *Istoriia Rusov*, and the relative influence of the early eighteenth-century texts and *Istoriia Rusov* in shaping the Ukrainian national revival. The second is the influence of the Eyewitness Chronicle on Panteleimon Kulish, and Kulish's later role in presenting negative evaluations of events in seventeenth-century Ukraine.

The Paradox of Populism: The Realism of Ivan Nečuj-Levyc'kyj

MAXIM TARNAWSKY

Ivan Nečuj-Levyc'kyj is adrift on a sea of paradoxes. Unquestionably one of the giants of Ukrainian literature, he is among the more neglected authors in the literary pantheon.[1] Although he is the most accomplished prose writer before Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj, his reputation among professionals, let alone casual readers, approaches disdain. Although he is the only writer who systematically and deliberately undertook a description of various levels in Ukrainian society, he is perceived as a chronicler of the village. Despite scores of literary and journalistic essays in which he discusses realism as a style in literature, critics of his works often talk about him as a romantic.[2]

The paradoxes surrounding Nečuj-Levyc'kyj are deeper than the perceptions of modern readers. There are inherent inconsistencies among the various positions Nečuj-Levyc'kyj takes in his critical essays, and incongruities between these essays and his works. There are also incongruities between the views expressed in his essays and the actions he took as a prominent member of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.[3] For example, in his essay "S'ohočasne literaturne prjamuvannja" Nečuj-Levyc'kyj argues that Ukrainian literature does not need Russian literature; that the differences between the two cultures and the peculiarities of Russian literature make it a poor model for Ukrainian literature. But when it comes to advising an aspiring writer, Borys Hrinčenko, who has turned to him for advice, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj is quick to suggest that the young man study Russian and Western writers.[4] Moreover, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj himself translated some of Saltykov-Ščedrin's stories into Ukrainian. Indeed, he always distinguished Ščedrin and Turgenev, as well as Gogol, from the general body of Russian

1 This is true both inside and outside Soviet Ukraine. For a summary of the dimensions of this problem in Soviet Ukraine, see Bilec'kyj, 317–18. (See p. 622 for a list of bibliographical references.)

2 Jefremov, for example, calls him a "suščyj romantyk" (Jefremov, 98).

3 Ivan Franko even saw an incongruity between the strong, confident author projected in Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's works and the small, weak, and modest man he was in person (Franko, 35: 373–74).

4 Letter of 10 August 1881 (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 10: 289).

literature.[5] He argues that Ukrainian literature must be Ukrainian in style and character as well as in subject. Yet when the young Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj writes to him for advice from Tbilisi, he tells him to "write about life beyond the Caucasus, write about the life of the Georgian people or the Armenian people."[6] In "S'ohočasne literaturne prjamuvannja" Nečuj-Levyc'kyj makes his famous assertion that the literary language should be based on the language of a village grandmother, yet in a letter to Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj he says:

> I agree with you that the Ukrainian writer cannot limit himself to mere descriptions of village life. . . . In our time the Ukrainian book has many an intelligent reader. It is necessary to provide him with works in which he himself is described with skin and bones, truthfully and realistically, as he actually is. (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 10: 400)

Another notorious paradox in Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's behavior is his attitude toward the founding of a Ukrainian newspaper. After the October Manifesto of 1905, when it became possible to establish a Ukrainian newspaper, a group of people including Jevhen Čykalenko, Serhij Jefremov, Borys Hrinčenko, and Marija Hrinčenkova met to plan a course of action. Among their first steps was to publish an article in the Russian-language newspaper, *Kievskie otkliki*; the article, written in Ukrainian by Jefremov, was about the recent pogroms. Another first step was to invite Nečuj-Levyc'kyj to join the group in working on a Ukrainian newspaper. He was sixty-six at the time, a respected and popular writer, and the inclusion of his name would have had symbolic value for the new venture. But the man who had once chastised Pypin for his less than total support for Ukrainian cultural independence rejected the invitation. The story is told by Marija Hrinčenkova:

> Two days later I visited Ivan Semenovyč, since I was delegated to invite him to work on the Ukrainian newspaper. I found him very agitated and he immediately began talking about the Jefremov article. He was very displeased with Jefremov's language in that article. . . .
>
> The conversation followed the path that is usual in such cases: From one side: "Did Ševčenko ever use such words? Do the people speak that way?" From the other side: "Did Ševčenko write newspaper articles? Can the language of a cultured nation be restricted to folk expressions (*narodni vyslovy*)? Are all the words and phrases in Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's *Xmary* or Baštovyj's[7] *Ukrajina na literaturnyx pozvax z Moskovščynoju* folk expressions?" and so on. . . .

[5] M. Bernštejn (1966) offers a useful discussion of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's attitude toward Russian literature.

[6] Letter of 25 September 1884 (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 10: 295).

[7] Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's pseudonym.

My words added fuel to the fire. Ivan Semenovyč said we do not need any newspaper, that writers writing newspaper articles will only ruin their language, because they will write just the way Jefremov did in his article. It would be best if Ukrainian writers published their writings as feuilletons in Russian newspapers. . . .

"So in your opinion we should be like those landless peasants who live in someone else's house (*pidsusidky*) and we should restrict ourselves to belletristic writing. But what about scholarship and journalism?"

"When our language develops sufficiently we will have our own scholarship and journalism. Until then we can write about our matters in the Russian papers. . . ."

"In Russian?"

"Better in Russian until our language develops than in this cacophony of Jefremov's. . . ."

". . . At this great historic moment, instead of helping the Ukrainian cause with your work and the prestige of your name you make fun of those people who are trying not to lose this moment, to take advantage of it. We need to have our own press right away, to stand up for our human rights. We have to fight for our own schools, and you're sending us off to live in someone else's house. And this is Nečuj-Levyc'kyj speaking, the same person who has been writing exclusively in Ukrainian for thirty-six years now."

We did not part on friendly terms that day. And on the list[8] of those cooperating with *Hromads'ke slovo* and later with *Hromads'ka dumka*[9] Ivan Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's name did not appear. (Hrinčenkova, 115–16)

Clearly, a disparity between Ivan Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's ideas and his actions was perceived by his contemporaries. But the disparity was not only between theory and practice. In a response to Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's "S'ohočasne literaturne prjamuvannja," Ivan Franko points to an inconsistency in the writer's definitions of *narodnist'* and *nacional'nist'*: he argues that the definitions of the two qualities are identical and that Nečuj-Levyc'kyj has failed to think through his ideas (Franko, 26: 10–11). Furthermore, argues Franko, literature is to be judged not by its inherent qualities, but by the function it performs. For Franko, of course, this function was a social one. Among Soviet scholars who write about Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, Franko's view of the writer's inconsistency and of the essay as a whole is generally accepted,[10] although the differences between the two

[8] The list and an account of the events leading up to the founding of a Ukrainian newspaper in Kiev appear in the memoirs of its publisher, Jevhen Čykalenko (Čykalenko, 442; 430–48). He does not mention Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, even when cataloging the professional writers in Kiev who were potential contributors to the newspaper.

[9] *Hromads'ke slovo* was the name chosen for the nascent newspaper and the name under which it was first advertised. But official permission for this publication was denied. Čykalenko and his group submitted a revised application under the name *Hromads'ka dumka*. Permission was granted, and the paper appeared on 1 January 1906.

[10] Even the erudite scholar Oleksandr Bilec'kyj, in an essay in which he defends Nečuj-Levyc'kyj against various charges made by Soviet critics, is helpless to exonerate his views in this essay. "The narrowness and naïveté of this reasoning are so obvious they disarm the

men are minimized.[11] Because the essay represents Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's best effort explicitly to define his views on literature and its national character, the question of serious intellectual inconsistency is important. If in it Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's argument is absurd and incoherent, then there is no point in analyzing his ideas or comparing his ideas to his actions or his works. But the argument is not absurd or incoherent, although it is neither very intelligent, nor very original, nor very objective. It is, nonetheless, vital for understanding Ivan Nečuj-Levyc'kyj as a man and as a writer.

Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's general argument in the essay is straightforward. The literature of Russia and the literature of Ukraine are not and cannot be identical. Before the seventeenth century a congruence was possible because until that time all literature was in a foreign language,[12] and the exclusive domain of an elite social class. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the situation changed and the two nations no longer completely shared one literature. The change, argues Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, culminates in the nineteenth century with the development of a new literary "school." Three principles characterize the new literature: realism, *nacional'nist'*, and *narodnist'*. Using these three principles as a measure, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj shows that Ukrainian and Russian literature are not only different, but that modern Ukrainian literature, which adopted all three from the very start, does not benefit from the presence or the example of Russian literature, because (1) Russian literature is slow in adopting the third principle, *narodnist'*, and (2) it reflects Russian instead of Ukrainian *nacional'nist'*. The bulk of the essay is devoted to detailed examples of these two points.

The key issue in dealing with Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's view of literature is the distinction between *nacional'nist'* and *narodnist'*. *Nacional'nist'*, or nationality, is the quality of belonging to a nation. It includes language, national character, and all the characteristics that distinguish one nation from another; in other words, it is a cultural category. *Narodnist'* is the quality of belonging or pertaining to the common people. The of-the-common-people quality encompasses customs, habits, beliefs, feelings, ideas, and everything else having to do with the lives of the lower classes. The primary characteristic of this category is its orientation on a social

critic," he says. "... If we consider them more deeply they appear to us not as products of critical, of historical-critical thought, but as the product of feeling, deeply offended by the harsh measures that tsarism invoked against the non-Russian people of Russia, a feeling of accumulated insult that is understandable in the historical circumstances. It is a shriek from the 'prison of nations' that Russia was" (Bilec'kyj, 334–35).

11 See, for example, the articles by Lisovyj (1968), Pustova (1978), and Taranenko (1981).

12 That is, Old Church Slavonic, or, as Nečuj-Levyc'kyj calls it, Bulgarian, was not the language of the common people.

class. In Ukraine during Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's lifetime, both of these categories represented powerful cultural, social, and political forces. Because of the social composition of the Ukrainian nation, that is, the relative absence of a Ukrainian upper class, *nacional'nist'* and *narodnist'* were often seen as practically and politically equivalent.[13] Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, however, insists on a theoretical distinction between the two.

Nečuj-Levyc'kyj offers specific definitions of all three principles. "Realism, or naturalism," he says, "requires that literature be a reflection of true, actual life, like the reflection in a pool of water. . . . Realistic literature should be a mirror" ("S'ohočasne," 1: 13). But he augments this traditional definition of realism with his own conservative aestheticism. He rejects what he calls ultra-realism, in which literature is merely a copy of reality, a photograph. "The writer should strive in his works to be a mirror of his community, but a mirror of high quality, which reflects real life, but cleansed and beautiful, in an aesthetic appearance, well-ordered and grouped, illuminated by a higher idea, and at the same time, alive, like life itself" ("S'ohočasne," 1: 14). For the Ukrainian realist writer, the proper subject is Ukrainian life, and it should include all classes and all ethnic groups in Ukraine.

The second principle of literature, *nacional'nist'*, has an external and an internal component. The external component is language, and the internal component is the deep, national psychic character of the people. Ukrainian writers should write only in Ukrainian. Their literature should reflect the spirit and character of the Ukrainian people. Although not inherently unreasonable, these conditions, particularly the second, are the source of much difficulty in Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's essay. For example: "Insufficiencies of elegance, aesthetic taste, inventiveness, and sympathetic feeling immediately allow one to identify Russian poetic works" ("S'ohočasne," 1: 19–20). This and similar judgments about the Russian national psyche, along with glowing accounts of the virtues and beauties of the Ukrainian national psyche, comprise a large portion of the essay. Among these characterizations are some amazing gems of Russophobia. Dostoevsky is chastised for a lack of imagination and elegance in depicting a character's dreams, in which liberal ideas appear as parasites entering the character's body or demons possessing a herd of swine ("S'ohočasne," 1: 20, fn.). Referring to a Russian song in which "a Russian girl imagines a dream about her ideal, the love of a young man who looks at her with such an

[13] In fact they were not. The three Ukrainian governments in Kiev between 1917–1919 clearly supported *nacional'nist'*. Their inadequate support for *narodnist'* was a significant factor in their eventual collapse.

animal-like look that her clothes split at the seams, her gold jewelry melts, and her necklace of pearls break" ("S'ohočasne," 1:37), he offers this analysis:

> Nothing similar to this Russian despotism in poetry can be found in Ukrainian songs, because they flow from different national psychic foundations (*narodnyx psyxičnyx osnov*). In the Russian family there reigns a despotism of the father over the whole family, over the wife, over the children, and it is natural that this despotism manifests itself also in songs, wherever the relationship of men to women appears on stage. In the composition of the Ukrainian and Belorussian family there is no such despotism, and therefore it does not appear in poetry when the subject is the relationship of a boy to a girl or a man to a woman. ("S'ohočasne," 1:38)

It is sentiments like these that have precluded the reprinting of this essay and another one similar to it[14] in Soviet Ukrainian editions of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's works. For his admirers, the sentiments are a source of embarrassment. But the issue here is not whether one agrees with Nečuj-Levyc'kyj or whether one is pleased with his views, but whether these views are absurd and inconsistent. Aside from their Russophobic bias, his ideas are intellectually coherent. Indeed, as we shall see later, they are derived from intellectually respectable sources.

The third literary principle, *narodnist'*, consists of three elements: the language of the *narod*, the epic and lyric forms of the *narod*'s poetry, and the spirit of that poetry. It is in describing the first of these elements that Nečuj-Levyc'kyj claims that the model of literary language should be the language of a village *baba*.

> In those areas where literature is developing on an old literary language, which has many words that have died out on the lips of the living *narod*, or which has taken words from another language—like Russian from Old Church Slavonic—the language of the *narod*, the language of the *mužyk*s, should be sucked into the bookish, literary language, should enter it with meat, bones, and veins, and should totally transform it.... Let one and the same matter be told by an educated man, in Ukrainian, and have the same matter told by an inquisitive village *baba* [grandmother]. The educated man will invariably twist out long sentences in the bookish manner, while the village *baba*'s tongue will strike like a flint, and sparks of poetry will fly. Her syntax will be checkered, full of interjections, grammatically undeveloped, but alive like a spark. For literature the model of bookish language should be, literally, the language of a village *baba*. The Ukrainian bookish literary language should be nurtured on the soil of the living language of the village. ("S'ohočasne," 1:26)

Franko's assertion notwithstanding, this insistence on the language of the *narod* is not equivalent to the demand to write in Ukrainian. Franko also ignores the second element of the *narodnist'* principle—tropes. "The forms

[14] *Ukrajinstvo na literaturnyx pozvax z Moskovščynoju.*

of epic and lyric poetry in Ukrainian folk poetry," says Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, "are evident in entire pictures, in metaphors, in symbolism, sometimes in deep irony, and sometimes in hyperbole" ("S'ohočasne," 1:28). After presenting a three-page list of various metaphors and symbols common in Ukrainian folk poetry, he surmises:

> Ukrainian writers[15] should sprinkle their works with these pearls of folk poetry as with golden meadow grass. They will give their works a warm poetic folk coloring, a coloring of life, compared to which works written in an artificial bookish language will resemble mummies with their rotting thousand-year-old sheets that reek of decay. ("S'ohočasne," 1:31)

The third element of *narodnist'* in literature is

> the very spirit of *narod* poetry [folk poetry], which necessarily appears in the works of national writers,[16] even those that cannot be called of-the-*narod*, because every author is a son of his *narod*, skin of its skin and bone of its bone. A greater or lesser force of the *narod*'s imagination, the *narod*'s heart and aesthetics will be reflected in the works of writers against their will. ("S'ohočasne," 1:31–32)

The spirit of the *narod* is indistinguishable from the national character. Here Franko is right in claiming that Nečuj-Levyc'kyj offers identical definitions for two elements that are supposed to be separate. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's point, however, is that literature should reflect the cultural primacy of a subset of the national character, namely, the spirit of the *narod* that is reflected in folk literature.

Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's view of literature, as the preceding summary shows, is not incoherent, although it is neither profound nor stimulating. Ivan Semenovyč Levyc'kyj was, from 1865, when he graduated from the Kiev Academy, to 1885, when he took his retirement,[17] a high-school teacher of Russian language, literature, history, and geography. Although an intelligent and well-informed man, his intellectual skills were those of an eclectic compiler.[18] His essays have the character of an undergraduate lecture. The program he advocates in "S'ohočasne literaturne prjamuvannja" is a combination of two different literary formulas. His endorsement of the term

[15] The word he uses here and elsewhere is not "pys'mennyky," the standard word for "writers," but "pysal'nyky," apparently his own coinage, which obviously means writers but has uncertain connotations. It does not, however, mean bad writers who are only barely literate, "pysaky."

[16] "Pysal'nyky," again, as above.

[17] Between finishing the Kiev Seminary (1859) and entering the Kiev Academy (1861), Levyc'kyj taught for one-and-a-half years (22 April 1860–20 September 1861) in Bohuslav. Thus he could retire in 1885 after twenty-five years of service.

[18] Perhaps the best example occurs in part six of his *Ukrajinstvo na literaturnyx pozvax z Moskovščynoju*, where he gives a survey of Chinese literature. As Bilec'kyj (Bilec'kyj, 332) points out, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's knowledge of Chinese literature is compiled from standard Russian reference works.

realism, his use of the image of the mirror in describing the function of literature, and his insistence that literature reflect the values of the lower classes show direct influence from contemporary realism and naturalism. Characteristic of this component of his program is his support of Émile Zola and the Goncourt brothers. But Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's endorsement of realism is not unconditional. He is opposed to psychological realism, and he frequently chastises Dostoevsky for transgressions against good aesthetic judgment.

After realism, the other major component of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's literary program is an outgrowth of the political populism of the 1860s and 1870s. Turgenev's "sons" were among Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's ideals, as evidenced by the reference to Bazarov in the autobiographical sketch he wrote for Ivan Belej, editor of the journal *Svit* (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 10: 15). But populism is not a political phenomenon for Nečuj-Levyc'kyj. He is a cultural *narodnyk.* Every step in his literary program presents aesthetic justifications for his populist prescriptions. When he argues that the literary language should be modeled on the speech of a village *baba*, he justifies the prescription with the judgment that her speech is fresh and alive while the bookish language of educated men is stale and lifeless. The same applies to his suggestions about the tropes of folk genres. When he argues that the *narod* is the carrier of national character and contrasts the virtues of Ukrainian folklore with the vices of Russian folklore, it is precisely the aesthetic features of the two national characters that are his focus. In his essays on literature and culture he does not postulate the primacy of the *narod* in its political function, but rather in its cultural values. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj is, at heart, an old-fashioned romantic who takes seriously Herderian theories about the unspoiled spontaneity of folk literature.

This romantic view of the value of folk literature is complemented with the related notion of the significance of national character. That idea, as most others, he derives from specific sources. Although the sources of his notion of national character are not evident in "S'ohočasne literaturne prjamuvannja," they are very apparent in *Ukrajinstvo na literaturnyx pozvax z Moskovščynoju*, where he makes reference to at least two important authorities for his ideas. The first is Hippolyte Taine and his theory of cultural development as expressed in the introduction to his *History of English Literature* (*Ukrajinstvo*, 120). Taine's general notion of national character and particularly of the factor of "race" are precisely the right ideological reinforcement for Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's Russo-Ukrainian literary duel. Where Taine offers a general intellectual framework for the battle, the second source, Mykola Kostomarov, provides the artillery, the shells, and the enemy's coordinates. In both his historical works and in his ethno-

cultural essays Kostomarov not only maintains the theoretical distinction between the national character of Russia and Ukraine, but also presents details of the features that distinguish the two:

> The Russian nation is practical and materialistic. It rises to poetic expression only when it leaves the circle of everyday life in which it works, without enthusiasm, without being captivated, paying attention more to the details and therefore losing sight of the visual image, which is the key to poeticizing any function or thing.

This may sound like something Nečuj-Levyc'kyj would say, but the quote is actually from Kostomarov's essay "Two Russian Nations" (Kostomarov, 56).

Throughout his *Ukrajinstvo na literaturnyx pozvax z Moskovščynoju*, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj refers to Kostomarov as an authority. In fact, in the second part of the essay he argues that Pypin is wrong to accuse Ohonovs'kyj of basing his ideas on the racist theories of the Polish ethnographer Franciszek Duchinski because in fact they are based on the respectable scholarly views of Kostomarov. In "S'ohočasne literaturne prjamuvannja" the differences in national character revealed through comparisons between Russian and Ukrainian folk poems are generally derived from Kostomarov.

The connection to Kostomarov puts Nečuj-Levyc'kyj on firmer intellectual ground, but it also taints the disciple with the sins of the mentor. Late in life Kostomarov advanced the idea that the Ukrainian language was exclusively for peasants and that for serious culture Ukrainians should use the Russian language. Since Nečuj-Levyc'kyj adopts so much of Kostomarov's populist ideas and since his literary program gives primacy to the *narod*, one might think he shared Kostomarov's view of Ukrainian as a peasant language. His refusal to cooperate with the new Ukrainian newspaper in Kiev, his absence from the ranks of political activists, and his continuous bickering over the use of Galician Ukrainian are easily construed as evidence of his allegiance to such a view. From the account of her meeting with Nečuj-Levyc'kyj quoted above, it is clear that Maria Hrinčenkova thought so.[19]

But Nečuj-Levyc'kyj does not see Ukrainian as an exclusively peasant language. His motto that the literary language should be modeled on that of a village *baba* is not evidence for such a conclusion. As Shevelov points

[19] Not so Franko, who accuses the anonymous author of "S'ohočasne literaturne prjamuvannja" (the essay was published in *Pravda* without attribution to an author, apparently as an editorial) of being an idealist and a formalist, interested only in theoretical questions, especially the typically Ukrainian issue of what kind of literature Ukraine should have, rather than focusing on the practical matter of what that literature should accomplish (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 26:5–13).

out, "In less direct form the same idea was expressed by nearly every Ukrainian writer of the time" (Shevelov, 1:95). Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's remarks about language in "S'ohočasne literaturne prjamuvannja" are motivated by aesthetic judgments. He does not limit the use of Ukrainian to peasants. He says that the Ukrainian spoken by peasants is better Ukrainian than that spoken by the intelligentsia. He then goes on to say that writers (and by implication the intelligentsia as a whole) should use this better Ukrainian instead of what they now rely on.

The refusal to work on a Ukrainian newspaper was also based on a personal aesthetic judgment rather than on any notion of the function of language. Even Marija Hrinčenkova's account indicates that the reason for the refusal lay in Jefremov's article. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj refused to write for *Hromads'ka dumka* because he was opposed to its use of Galician Ukrainian. For him, Jefremov and Hrinčenko, the prospective editors, were the chief villains in a plot to Galicianize the Ukrainian language. His attitude toward the newspaper is evident in a letter he wrote to Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj on 28 March 1906, three months after the newspaper began to appear. He complains about the way in which his story "Hastroli" was published in the collection *Z potoku žyttja*, edited by Kocjubyns'kyj. Despite promises to the contrary, the editors "corrected" the peculiarities of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's personal orthography. Once launched on language problems, the favorite subject of his later years, he immediately takes up the issue of Galicianisms:

> Now our newspapers are written not in Ukrainian, but in Galician. It turns out that these newspapers have hurt our literature; they have turned away from our newspapers and books the general public and even those who buy and read Ukrainian books. The editorial office of *Hromads'ka dumka* receives letters, even from its subscribers, complaining: What kind of language is this? It cannot be read and understood. (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 10:464)

The problem here is not the function of language, but rather its purity and local color.[20] Indeed, had Nečuj-Levyc'kyj objected to the use of Ukrainian in high culture by the intelligentsia, he would not have submitted his story to Kocjubyns'kyj's collection, which was devoted specifically to the intelligentsia. Instead, the letter to Kocjubyns'kyj quoted earlier, in which Nečuj-Levyc'kyj says that the Ukrainian writer cannot limit himself to descriptions of the village, was his initial, positive response to the plan for a collection devoted to the intelligentsia. The problem of Galician language is related to the issue of cultural function, but this is a connection

[20] For a general view of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's battle against Galicianisms, see Shevelov, 1:121–26.

Nečuj-Levyc'kyj either did not see or chose to ignore. His belligerent campaign against all those who polluted the language with Galicianisms, archaisms, artificial grammar, or any of the other "thirteen orthographic or dialectal forms" (Hrinčenkova, 112) that offended his linguistic ideology was never more than an ill-defined, poorly understood, and unproductive linguistic discussion about the direction in which the Ukrainian language was developing.[21] It was not a debate on the social or national function of the Ukrainian language.

The tenacity with which Nečuj-Levyc'kyj defended his linguistic views can be explained, in part, by his difficult personality. A stodgy bachelor in his late sixties, living alone in Kiev without much contact with its active and rapidly changing Ukrainian cultural life, he was the perfect caricature of a linguistic curmudgeon.[22] His populist literary and linguistic theories were the product of a mind still focused on the ideas of the 1870s. But this is only a partial explanation. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj did not believe that the Ukrainian nation is forever destined to consist only of peasants, but he was concerned about the ambivalence or indifference of the Ukrainian gentry on the question of nationality. Furthermore, he saw a real and present danger to the national identity in certain intellectual trends that were becoming increasingly popular among educated Ukrainians. This fear was the primary subject of the first full-length work he wrote after retiring and moving to Kiev.

Nad Čornym morem is not one of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's most successful efforts as a novelist, but it is a work that has interesting links to his biography[23] and his ideas. The plot is built on parallel love stories: a central one between two Ukrainians, Sanja Navroc'ka and Viktor Komaško; and a secondary one between Nadežda Muraškova, daughter of a mixed Greek-Ukrainian marriage, and Arystyd Selabros, a Greek. Although the

21 Franko gives an unsympathetic but honest evaluation of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj as a linguist in a letter to Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj from February of 1907, where he comments on Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's article "S'ohočasna časopysna mova na Ukrajini": "I have read Nečuj's article in *Ukrajina*, but it is thoroughly dim-witted (*zovsim hlupa*), without an elementary understanding of history, which does not even pretend to distinguish between language and orthography. How can you talk with a man like that?" (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 50: 319). Shevelov's assessment is similar: "Theoretically the discussion was not very engrossing, for the arguments of both Nečuj-Levyc'kyj and of his opponents often were too impressionistic or entirely subjective and lacking any understanding of language nature and history" (Shevelov, 1: 123).

22 Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's personality is the stuff of legends, for which Jefremov's biography is the primary source. Pidmohyl'nyj's Freudian psychoanalysis (which concludes that Nečuj-Levyc'kyj is a perfect example of a personality with the Oedipus complex) exemplifies just how strange he was perceived to be.

23 For example, it raises the possibility that Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's early retirement came in the face of threatened dismissal for his Ukrainian activities (Bilec'kyj, 320–21).

principals are from Kishinev, most of the story takes place in Odessa, where they have all traveled on holiday. The tone and setting of the novel are similar to Xvyl'ovyj's unfinished *Val'dšnepy*. The languorous, exotic seaside vacation setting and the carefree, flirtatious behavior of the company of vacationing friends provide a backdrop for an intellectual drama concerning the role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Komaško, in many ways the author's idealized self-portrait, is a schoolteacher passionately dedicated to the realization of his ideas, "most of all the idea of national independence, Ukrainian literature, and the prosperity of the Ukrainian people" (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 5: 132). Sanja is also a schoolteacher, but unlike Komaško, she teaches "in a school for Jewish girls—not for the income, but on account of the principle of cosmopolitanism, to help the most persecuted nation and the most oppressed woman" (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 5: 100). She and her friend Nadežda are attuned to the most recent social ideas, particularly feminism. But for Nečuj-Levyc'kyj their values have a serious flaw:

In their principles they were cosmopolitans, people without a nationality. They were pulled onto this path by the mixture of nationalities in the city, ignorance of the common people (*narod*), their Russian schooling with its foreign (*nekrajevoju*) Russian language, and by the theoreticalness of their views, which were not yet applied to any useful, good cause in practice. (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 5: 101)

Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's political ideas are never sharply defined, even when they are presented explicitly.[24] But in this novel his simple idea is specifically and clearly presented. The debates between Komaško and Sanja attack the issue head-on. Komaško begins:

"A person without nationality is like a tree without roots. It will wither and die."

"I respect your opinion but I also know that nationalism sometimes leads to dark manifestations, to militarism, to Bismarck-ism," said Sanja.

"It depends where. Do not think, Oleksandra Xarytonivna, that I support that kind of nationalism. Our nationalism is liberty, progress, humanity. It is a new nationalism, not the ancient nationalism of old. It manifests great tolerance for other nations and for all faiths, it stands up for the masses, for the common people. And to serve the common people you certainly have to speak to them in their own language. How will they understand us otherwise? You're for the common people, aren't you?" Komaško asked Sanja.

"I guess I am for the people... although I have not given this much thought, because I am not well informed on this issue. But I'm for the eternal ideas of goodness, truth, enlightenment. These are universal principles!" Sanja said, almost yelling. "That's why I'm a cosmopolitan." (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 5: 157–58)

[24] Franko aptly characterized this quality in a letter to his wife, commenting that *Ukrajinstvo na literaturnyx pozvax z Moskovščynoju* was "Nečuj-ism in its pure diluted form (*Nečujivščyna v samim vodjanystim rodi*)" (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 49: 294).

Komaško, of course, gets the better of the argument and eventually Sanja will change her mind and agree to marry him. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj lets his point of view triumph in the novel, although this entails further struggle and difficulties for the couple. But it is the presentation of cosmopolitanism that is significant here.

Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's use of this term is not remarkable. "Cosmopolitanism" and the idea of internationalism were popular and fashionable around the turn of the century. But the term occurs in one essay, in particular, that would have attracted Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's attention. In a response to "S'ohočasne literaturne prjamuvannja," Franko questions the idea that Ukrainian literature should be totally independent and isolated from Russian literature:

> For whom is this isolated literature supposed to be written? Is it for the intelligentsia? Obviously not, because if the intelligentsia wants to be the intelligentsia it cannot lock itself up in the tight circle of a single literature, but rather must study, read, and compare the works of other literatures—Russian, German, French, and others. Which means you cannot introduce isolation here because the main goal here is precisely the widest cosmopolitanism of thinking and scholarship. (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 26: 8)

There is no direct evidence that in *Nad Čornym morem* Nečuj-Levyc'kyj is reacting specifically to Franko,[25] but the assertion that the intelligentsia is necessarily cosmopolitan no doubt irked him.[26] For Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, internationalism is merely a form of denationalization. Abstract idealism is only productive when it is applied to the fertile soil of the nation's common people. The conversion, by different paths, of both Sanja and Nadežda to this point of view is Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's answer to Franko's charge that the intelligentsia must live by higher, supranational ideals, and to Drahomanov's charge, also made implicitly by others, that naïve populism buries liberty and human dignity in the mud of dilettante ethnographism by glorifying the *narod*'s most primitive characteristics—its ignorance, its superstitions, and its materialism (Drahomanov, 1: 293–94). At the end of the novel, after Komaško and Sanja are married, Komaško is dismissed from his job as a teacher, arrested, and sent to Siberia. This gives Sanja a chance to pursue her feminist ideal of self-fulfillment: she enrolls at the university. When Komaško returns she opens a school for girls in a city on the Black Sea.

[25] Taranenko (1967) gives a general survey of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's view of Franko. However, he does not mention *Nad Čornym morem*.

[26] The attack on cosmopolitanism in *Nad Čornym morem* in turn irked Franko's mentor and co-believer in internationalism, Myxajlo Drahomanov. The strength of Drahomanov's reaction can be measured by the virulence of his review of the novel (Drahomanov, 2: 306–311) where he cites the negative evaluation of his twenty-year-old niece, Lesja Ukrajinka.

Although there are difficult personal choices to be made, for Nečuj-Levyc'kyj new, progressive ideals are not incompatible with the cultural primacy of the *narod.*

This political formulation is mirrored by the discussion of literary genres in the novel. During a day trip to the town of Malyj Fontan, Selabros, who writes bad poetry in his spare time, remarks that Borodavkin, who is carrying a basket of food and liquor, has not come empty-handed:

> "Indeed, not empty-handed. Provisions do not cause poverty. You see, I love poetry but I do not forget about prose either," said Borodavkin.
>
> "And right you are, because this company is composed entirely of male and female poets who do not care much for prose," remarked Selabros.
>
> "The male poets—that's you. I can see that. But there are no female poets among us. We are positive people (*ljudy pozytyvni*)," chirped Sanja. (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 5: 151)

Unlike most of his contemporaries, including Panas Myrnyj, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj did not write poetry. Like Sanja Navroc'ka, he saw prose as a serious practical medium. Realism, he explains in a letter to Natalija Kobryns'ka, "is a firm and stiff corset that pinches your waist and squeezes your sides" (*Zibrannja tvoriv*, 10: 352). The corset is tight not only because it obliges authors to depict real life, but also because for Nečuj-Levyc'kyj realism in Ukrainian literature is tied to a program of national and social awareness. Although that program involved practical difficulties and paradoxes, usually exacerbated by his single-mindedness, in his writing Nečuj-Levyc'kyj was largely true to his own prescriptions. The paradoxes surrounding his works and behavior were not evident to Nečuj-Levyc'kyj. They emerge only when he is viewed from a perspective different from his own.

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Voltaire's Eastern Europe: The Mapping of Civilization on the Itinerary of Charles XII

LAWRENCE WOLFF

In the *Histoire de Charles XII*, first published in 1731, Voltaire related a story told to him personally in England by the old Duchess of Marlborough, about the encounter in Saxony in 1707 between Charles and her husband the Duke. Marlborough had come representing England to ascertain that the course of Charles's army would not prejudice the battling alliance against Louis XIV. This diplomatic encounter between two of the supreme military giants of their generation was conducted by an interpreter between English and Swedish, while the most important messages transmitted were never verbalized anyway and followed from Marlborough's near telepathic powers.

> Marlborough, qui ne se hâtait jamais de faire ses propositions, et qui avait, par une longue habitude, acquis l'art de démêler les hommes et de pénétrer les rapports qui sont entre leurs plus secrètes pensées, et leur actions, leur gestes, leur discours, étudia attentivement le roi.[1]

Clearly, Voltaire identified Marlborough's diplomatic role—to study the king attentively, to penetrate the relation between his actions and his secret thoughts—with his own role as historian and biographer of Charles XII. The overlong interruption between subject ("Marlborough") and verb ("étudier") allows the reader almost to forget who was actually studying the king in this sentence, while the implausibly precise reconstruction of Marlborough's point of view, based on the duchess's recollections, suggests that Voltaire particularly valued that perspective as identical to his own.

Marlborough observed that the king's eyes lit up at the mention of the name of the tsar, and this served as the first clue to penetration and interpretation. It was a distinctly non-psychological observation, with the Swedish king as a sort of pre-electrical, illuminated automaton, flashing in response to auditory stimuli. For Charles was at once transparent and opaque, predictable and incomprehensible to the gaze of Marlborough and Voltaire. He was a military phenomenon, but neither a politically nor philosophically penetrable subject. The illuminated eyes offered a clue, but the final

[1] Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731; rpt'd. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1968), p. 113.

confirmation of the king's secret thoughts could not be read from within him. Marlborough, for all his art at "disentangling men," was forced to fall back on an external prop that lay conveniently at hand, a map of Russia.

Il aperçut de plus, sur une table, une carte de Moscovie. Il ne lui en fallait pas davantage pour juger que le véritable dessein du roi de Suède, et sa seule ambition, était de détrôner le czar après le roi de Pologne.[2]

Charles, as a military phenomenon, could be read as a map instead of as a man. One only needed to know his direction to know his intention, the lands that he intended to conquer, the thrones that he intended to topple. Voltaire emphasized this with the homophonic association of *dessein* and *dessin*. The intention of the king was punningly identified with the drawing of the map. In fact, both words derive from the Latin *designare* and come together again in English translation as *design*.

The map on the table suggests a reading of Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* that follows from Marlborough's reading of Charles himself. One must follow the map to find the man, recognize that the conqueror was subsumed in the map of his conquests, move beyond the moral issues raised by Voltaire's attention to the career of a military adventurer, and focus on the cultural issues raised by the geographical locus of his adventuring. For Marlborough the sight of the map was enough: "Il laissa Charles XII à son penchant naturel; et, satisfait de l'avoir pénétré, il ne lui fit aucune proposition."[3] Here the double meaning was similarly suggestive, for in leaving the king to his "penchant naturel," Marlborough and Voltaire confirmed the identity of man and map. The word *penchant* referred to the king's inclination, the "secret thought" that had been "penetrated," but, most literally, it signified an inclining or sloping geographical terrain. To leave him to his natural inclination was also to leave him to his natural geographical course. That course took him from Poland and Russia to Ukraine and the Crimea, across the easternmost lands of Europe, the lands that would eventually be known as Eastern Europe.

Edward Said has studied the Orient as a cultural construction of the Occident. According to Said, the idea of the Orient "has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience," an image of "the Other," while the discourse of "Orientalism" constituted a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[4] Voltaire, following Charles XII along his "penchant naturel," presented a cultural construction of Eastern Europe, a construction

[2] Voltair, *Histoire*, p. 113.

[3] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 113.

[4] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978; rpt'd. New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 1–3.

at once philosophical, historical, and imaginative, but no less a work of French design and Western style than the Orient imagined by Montesquieu in his *Lettres persanes* ten years before. In the immediately successful and constantly republished *Histoire de Charles XII*, Voltaire offered his many readers a still uncrystallized but formatively influential vision of a Europe divided into East and West, a purposeful opposition between Eastern Europe and Western Europe that would eventually operate with the same irresistible force as that between Orient and Occident. Said has warned against assuming either innocence of intention or honesty of observation in European study of the Orient, and this warning is all the more important for the representation of Eastern Europe, where the "otherness" of the subject is less emphatically highlighted. For the eastern lands of Europe were undeniably part of Europe, and the analysis of those lands called for a subtle balance of exclusion and inclusion, a careful demi-Orientalization. What Voltaire and Charles XII discovered as they traversed the continent together was a part of Europe that appeared culturally backwards according to the standards of enlightened civilization.

The map on the table implied a land that was both capable of representation and exposed to observation: "Il aperçut de plus, sur une table, une carte de Moscovie." For Michel Foucault it was the analytical gaze that made power and knowledge inseparable in the age of Enlightenment, and, accordingly, one observes that in Voltaire the map of Muscovy was no sooner perceived than assumed to represent an object of domination. Furthermore, the *table* itself, upon which the map rested, was both an item of furniture and a system of classification; for Foucault it was the "table" or "tableau" that epitomized the eighteenth-century analytical organization of knowledge.[5] Voltaire's history was, of course, a work of language, and its representation of different lands was expressed not as a drawn map, but as a series of written descriptions. Taken together they constituted a historical and philosophical "table" that classified the lands of Eastern Europe in the manner of the Linnaean approach to ordering nature. It was Charles, on his course of conquest, who linked the elements of the table and made it possible for them to appear to the reader as a distinct classificatory entity, the newly discovered genus Eastern Europe.

Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* was related to the forms of both travelogue and encyclopedia, and the military conquests of Charles appear analogous to the sexual conquests of Casanova, who covered some of the same geographical terrain. Casanova's exhaustive relation of his

[5] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, translation of *Les Mots et les choses* (1966; rpt'd. New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 75.

encounters made his life into a sexual history charted across the map of Europe. Voltaire did for Charles what Casanova did for himself: translated fleeting conquests into written history, preserving above all the scenes of each adventure, perpetrating an intellectual conquest more lasting than the military domination of the ill-fated conqueror. For Voltaire's construction of Eastern Europe was also a conquest, defining a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority" by following the analogous courses of the military adventurer and the philosophical historian—an analogy implicit in the Enlightenment's pursuit of power through knowledge.

The critical literature on the *Histoire de Charles XII* has centered, from the time of its publication, on Voltaire's peculiar choice of hero, a military adventurer. In the eighteenth century the abbé de Mably already mocked the work as that of "un fou à la suite d'un fou,"[6] while two centuries later the preeminent Voltaire scholar Theodore Besterman still felt compelled to explain that Charles XII, "surpassed in ascending order of villainy only by Napoleon, Mussolini, and Hitler," was "indeed the kind of man intellectuals often fall for."[7] Furio Diaz began his analysis of the work with the observation that the book, from the moment of its publication, "had need of many justifications on the part of the author," and Voltaire's defensiveness was expressed in the revisions of successive editions through the 1730s.[8] In particular, there was a heavy-handed attempt to explain and justify the book to its readers in the short "Discours sur *L'Histoire de Charles XII*" that Voltaire added almost immediately, first appended as a conclusion to the second edition of 1731, then transposed to the beginning as a programmatic introduction in 1732.[9] Here Voltaire declared that the purpose of the book was not to glorify warfare, but rather the opposite: "Certainement il n'y a point de souverain qui, en lisant la vie de Charles XII, ne doive être guéri de la folie des conquêtes." At the same time Voltaire assured his readers that though Charles might be the title hero of the book, his rival and nemesis Peter the Great was "beaucoup plus grand homme que lui."[10] The "Discours" emphasized this apologetic vein with the enlightened proclamation that "les princes qui ont le plus de droit à l'immortalité sont ceux qui ont fait quelques bien aux hommes."[11] In his revisions of the text Voltaire continued to build up the figure of Peter as an alternative hero, thus

6 Furio Diaz, *Voltaire storico* (Turin, 1958), pp. 80–81.
7 Theodore Besterman, *Voltaire* (1969; rpt'd. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 159.
8 Diaz, *Voltaire storico*, pp. 77–80.
9 Diaz, *Voltaire storico*, p. 80.
10 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 31.
11 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 29.

beginning to move towards his semi-official and altogether admiring *L'Histoire de l'empire de Russie sous Pierre le grand*, published in 1759—and then requiring a whole new round of apologies and justifications.

Voltaire's virtual reinterpretation of his own work on Charles XII has served as a guide for critics who seek to view it as an integral part of the master's historical and philosophical oeuvre. G. P. Gooch thinks it "might serve as a tract against war under cover of a biography," and unhesitatingly fingers Peter as "the real hero of the book."[12] Albert Lortholary finds that Voltaire as the future philosophical historian can already be discerned "in the pages consecrated to the tsar Peter."[13] Lionel Gossman sees a fundamental dramatic structure in the rivalry of Charles and Peter, with the latter as Voltaire's "baroque hero" who brings about "the bursting in of order upon disorder."[14] Thus Voltaire himself initiated the confusion of messages that shifted critical attention away from the central figure of Charles and his course of conquest. One must cut through two centuries of philosophical apology to rediscover the crude truth of Mably: "un fou à la suite d'un fou." For, leaving aside the question of madness, one comes back to the fundamental identification of author and protagonist—"à la suite"—following the same path.

This moral dilemma in the critical literature opens into a methodological debate over Voltaire's values and priorities as a historian. For the *Histoire de Charles XII*, at first glance, appears altogether different from the pioneering historiographical approach to society and civilization that Voltaire eventually undertook in his *Siècle de Louis XIV* and *Essai sur les moeurs*. To Besterman the *Histoire de Charles XII* was "no more than a first tentative attempt" towards a new kind of history.[15] J. H. Brumfitt has discussed the work in a chapter entitled "Apprenticeship," judging Voltaire "still far from becoming the 'philosophic' historian he is later to become."[16] Lortholary argues that though Voltaire would one day "substitute the history of peoples for that of kings," in his account of Charles XII, king of Sweden, there was no attention to the "tableau de la nation."[17] In using the singular form of "nation," that is, by remarking upon Voltaire's minimal attention to the Swedish nation, Lortholary fails to do justice to the *tableau*

12 G. P. Gooch, "Voltaire as Historian," in *Catherine the Great and Other Studies* (1954; rpt'd. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1966), pp. 204 and 207.

13 Albert Lortholary, *Le Mirage Russe en France au XVIII^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1951), p. 26.

14 Lionel Gossman, "Voltaire's *Charles XII*: History into Art," in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Theodore Besterman, vol. 25 (Geneva, 1963), p. 697.

15 Besterman, *Voltaire*, p. 162.

16 J. H. Brumfitt, *Voltaire Historian* (Oxford, 1958), p. 9.

17 Lortholary, *Le Mirage Russe*, p. 25.

of the plural nations that lay along the course of the Swedish king.

Brumfitt, however, does remark upon Voltaire's background discussions of Sweden, Russia, Poland, and Turkey, attributing these to a "constant interest in social and constitutional questions," while finding that "descriptions of social developments are still subordinate to the account of the lives of the two central figures." Most suggestive is Brumfitt's undramatic observation on Voltaire that in this work "each country with which he deals is the object of similar scrutiny."[18] From this idea of similar scrutinies one might begin to elaborate a more comprehensive conception of the work as a multiple tableau, a table of analytical scrutinies ordering a series of lands that constitute a characteristic part of Europe. Diaz notes that the lands Charles encountered were represented in a series of "concise, synthetic, summary pictures."[19] (The Italian word that Diaz employs is *quadri*, with the dual sense of "pictures" and "squares," suggesting the possibility of representation in an analytical table.) Diaz even observes the relation between Charles's battlefields and Voltaire's cultural commentary:

> Here is Poland, object of dispute and the principal field of battle in the wars of Charles XII, Poland where the relative influence of climate and soil upon civilian life was so often sustained by Voltaire against Montesquieu. . . .[20]

Finally, Gossman offers special insight into Voltaire by emphasizing the world as a stage for Charles, the rococo "transformation of the world into an intimate spectacle, the diminution of it to the point where the human eye can survey it all in a glance," the artistic rendering of history as a "formal pattern."[21] It was, however, not the world as a whole, but rather the eastern lands of Europe that served as the stage of Charles's adventures, and Voltaire, by surveying those lands together, "in a glance," and arranging them in a "formal pattern," contributed to the construction of those eastern lands as Eastern Europe.

Diaz, recognizing the importance of these "summary pictures" of different lands—the *quadri*—nevertheless sees such concerns as a part of Voltaire's fundamental interest in "the states of the North" and "the northern peoples."[22] Voltaire, like many of the other *philosophes*, was always deeply interested in "the North," especially Russia, but as a key to the *Histoire de Charles XII* these septentrional rubrics seem curiously misapplied. For though the *quadri* representing Sweden, Russia, and Poland were

18 Brumfitt, *Voltaire*, pp. 16–17.
19 Diaz, *Voltaire storico*, p. 86.
20 Diaz, *Voltaire storico*, p. 85.
21 Gossman, "Voltaire's *Charles XII*," pp. 694, 709, and 717.
22 Diaz, *Voltaire storico*, p. 83.

distinctly northern, those of Ukraine and Crimea were certainly not. The fundamental cultural division of Europe into South and North was taken for granted in the age of the Renaissance. From the perspective of Machiavelli's Florence, the French and Germans were barbarians of the North, and this point of view was securely founded on that of ancient Rome and Mediterranean civilization. That convention was still alive in the eighteenth century, and Montesquieu could still devote pages of the *Esprit des loix* to analyzing the cultural consequences of cold climate, but the axis of civilization had already begun to change. During the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century, the increasing economic and cultural importance of Amsterdam, Paris, and London made it almost anachronistic to continue to center Europe on Rome and Florence, and to judge the rest of the continent from those Italian perspectives. Furio Diaz, himself Italian, writing in Italian and publishing his *Voltaire storico* in Turin in 1958, seems not to have noticed that the lands of Charles's eighteenth-century adventures were not actually, taken together, northern lands.

Voltaire, however, conceiving his work in England, working on it and publishing it in France, could not have been unaffected by the shift in the axis of civilization as he gazed eastward to the lands where Charles had fought his wars. This subtle and important transformation of Europe's self-conception involved a rotation of perspective, beginning with a Renaissance Europe divided into North and South, yielding a modern Europe divided into East and West. This evolution of "Western Europe" and "Eastern Europe" coincided with and fed upon the emerging opposition between "Occident" and "Orient." The causes may be sought in new centers of civilization, but the consequences also produced new realms of backwardness. That, too, was a matter of perspective and construction. The Enlightenment made possible this new perspective, because of the location of its capitals and luminaries, but it also moved the axis itself by the application of enlightened methods of cultural criticism and analysis. In Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* one may discern the axis in revolution, as the philosopher historian followed the military adventurer through the eastern lands of Europe. On the way Voltaire helped to construct a concept of Eastern Europe, and, correspondingly, contributed to the crystallization of that interesting construction that is called "Western" civilization.

* * *

The history of the king of Sweden had very little to do with Sweden itself, for Charles left his own land after the first "book" and did not return until the last. Nevertheless, the "argument" or chapter heading of the "livre premier" promised an "histoire abrégée de la Suède," while the first

paragraphs laid a foundation of ahistorical preconditions: geography, climate, anthropology, ethnology.[23] These were tightly woven together into a carefully conceived causal chain, climate and landscape determining character: "Les hommes y sont grands; la sérénité du ciel les rend sains, la rigueur du climat les fortifie."[24] The same confident determinism marked the transition from a sort of anthropology to a sort of history:

> Les Suédois sont bien faits, robustes, agiles, capables de soutenir les plus grands travaux, la faim et la misère; nés guerriers, pleins de fierté, plus braves qu'industrieux, ayant longtemps négligé et cultivant mal aujourd'hui le commerce, qui seul pourrait leur donner ce qui manque à leur pays. On dit que c'est principalement de la Suède, dont une partie se nomme encore Gothie, que se débordèrent ces multitudes de Goths qui inondèrent l'Europe, et l'arrachérent à l'empire romain, qui en avait été cinq cents années l'usurpateur, le législateur et le tyran.[25]

From a formal point of view what is most striking about this passage is the juxtaposition of different verb tenses, from the propositional present ("les Suédois *sont* robustes") to the preterit past ("ces multitudes qui *inondèrent* l'Europe"). This formal distinction reflects Voltaire's transition from timeless anthropological observation in the first sentence to dated historical narration in the second. The implicit causal relation—that is, the suggestion that the Swedes inundated Europe *because* they were so robust—emerges from the cunning sophistry of narrative juxtaposition, and assumes that anthropological character explains historical action. This formulation is not so far from the spirit of Linnaean "natural history"—which Foucault considers so epistemologically fundamental in the eighteenth century—for the species ("Suédois") can be identified in terms of a specific character.

The epistemological convergence between Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* and Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae* is particularly interesting in view of the coincidence of dating. The *Systema Naturae* was published in 1735, while Voltaire's history was first published in 1731 with revised editions appearing throughout the decade. Linnaeus's full title was "The System of Nature, or the three Kingdoms of Nature, systematically proposed in classes, orders, genera, and species," and he stressed the principle that "objects are distinguished and known by classifying them methodically and giving them appropriate names."[26] This concern with systematic classification was also evident in Voltaire's account of the lands and peoples encountered by Charles XII. It was typical of the intellectual

[23] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 33.
[24] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 33.
[25] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 34.
[26] Carolus Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae*, 1735, Facsimile of the First Edition, ed. Dr. M. S. J. Engel-Ledeboer and Dr. H. Engel (Nieuwkoo, Netherlands, 1964), pp. 17 and 19.

confidence of the Enlightenment that Linnaeus boldly invented an ordering of the whole natural world inscribed on three tables, just as Voltaire later reconsidered philosophy from A to Z in one *Dictionnaire philosophique*, and Diderot attempted to reformulate all human knowledge in the *Encyclopédie*. Linnaeus certainly had no great respect for the previous authorities:

> If we reexamine the zoologies of the Authors we shall find for the greater part nothing but fabulous stories, a vague way of writing, pictures by the copper engravers and descriptions which are imperfect and often too extensive. There are very few indeed, who have tried to reduce zoology to genera and species according to the rules of systematics. . . .[27]

That Voltaire should have used Charles XII as his guide to a systematic table of populations was coincidentally appropriate, inasmuch as Carolus Linnaeus was a Swede, born in 1707 in the reign of Charles XII—and was named after the reigning king.[28]

The key to Linnaeus's classification of the vegetable kingdom was fructification and reproduction. Botany was always his primary field, and the *Systema Naturae* featured a special "clavis systematis sexualis," as a guide to the "nuptiae plantarum."[29] The convergence between Voltaire and Linnaeus as historian and natural historian was evident in the Frenchman's attempt to characterize the Swedish population in terms of its reproductive dynamics. Voltaire already seemed to take for granted the significance of inborn ethnological traits when he designated the Swedes "*nés* guerriers"—and in the peculiar opening of the very next paragraph he explicitly addressed the "nuptial" issue of sex and population.

> Les pays septentrionaux étaient alors beaucoup plus peuplés qu'ils ne le sont de nos jours, parce que la religion laissait aux habitants la liberté de donner plus de citoyens à l'Etat par la pluralité de leur femmes; que ces femmes elles-mêmes ne connaissaient d'opprobre que la stérilité et l'oisiveté, et qu'aussi laborieuses et aussi robustes que les hommes, elles en étaient plus tôt et plus longtemps fécondes.[30]

This elaboration is so extraordinary that one is almost tempted to set it alongside the great sexual fantasies of the Enlightenment, from Montesquieu's Persian harem, to Diderot's Tahiti and Rousseau's state of nature. In fact, however, Voltaire's concern was to describe a reproductive dynamic that would integrate the previously introduced factors of Swedish geography, climate, and character and thus define a coherent populational

27 Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae*, p. 26.

28 Heinz Goerke, *Linnaeus*, trans. Denver Lindley (1966; rpt'd. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), p. 12.

29 Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae*, "clavis systematis sexualis" (unpaginated).

30 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 34.

species. From "fecund" women such as these were born the "robust multitudes" who "inundated" Europe. Voltaire observed, however, that in the eighteenth century the "pays septentrionaux" had lost their ancient fecundity. In remarking upon the decline in population Voltaire began to undermine the generic significance of the septentrional classification, thus preparing for Charles's discovery of the eastern lands and a new European orientation. For Charles, living in less fecund times, was not followed by Gothic multitudes; he could not hope to "tear Europe away from the Roman Empire." The most he could manage was an adventure of discovery and conquest in lands that lay outside the orbit of ancient Roman civilization.

These introductory paragraphs of the *Histoire de Charles XII*, attempting to define a historical Swedish character, led into a quite conventional historical account of the reigns of important kings and queens. That account was, in fact, the "histoire abrégée" promised in the "argument," and it culminated naturally enough in "le roi Charles XII, l'homme le plus extraordinaire peut-être qui ait jamais été sur la terre, qui a réuni en lui toutes les grandes qualités de ses aïeux."[31] This specified relation to his ancestors made him the representative of a well-defined species. For his ancestors were not only the Vasa kings, but also the Goths and anonymous robust heroes of Swedish prehistory, while his "qualities" embraced not only the political virtues of his predecessors on the throne, but also the specific characteristics of the Swedish population. His life could be located in the temporal dimension of historical chronologies and on the classificatory table of ahistorical ethnologies.

What was most extraordinary about Charles's adventures, however, was that he commenced by detaching himself from the "histoire abrégée" of Swedish reigns, indeed, from Sweden altogether. Furthermore, the lands through which he passed, this reversionary Goth, appeared not as a collection of "abridged histories," to be measured in historical depth as well as geographical extent, but rather as a table of populations whose specific characteristics had not been buried under the weight of history. The backwards eastern lands of Europe, far from the western centers of civilization, were the lands where timeless anthropology prevailed over historical development. Ironically, for Voltaire, these ahistorical observations pointed the way towards a new kind of history, for the study of character and population was not so far from the study of societies and manners. Voltaire, discovering Eastern Europe with Charles XII, also began to appreciate the important classifications and distinctions to be made in the matter of *moeurs*.

31 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 37.

The *argument* of the first book promised not only the abridged history of Sweden, but also: "Caractère du czar Pierre Alexiowitz. Particularités très curieuses sur ce prince et sur la nation russe."[32] In the contrasting genres of "histoire abrégée" and "particularités très curieuses," one may already discern the special semi-Oriental specification of Eastern Europe. While Sweden possessed a too compendious history that had to be abridged, Russia was known only by curious particularities that had to be enumerated. It was, in fact, Voltaire's methodological distinction that marked the eastern lands, pointing all the more clearly to the fact that his Eastern Europe was a work of construction.

Charles left Sweden in 1700, crossing the Baltic to defend Swedish Livonia (roughly modern Latvia and Estonia) against Poland and Russia, and winning a major victory against the Russians that very same year at Narva. It was thus the chronology of Charles's military career that had Voltaire introducing Russia in the first book with an account that immediately followed upon that of Sweden itself. Russia, too, was first geographically located and then anthropologically observed.

> La Moscovie, ou Russie, embrasse le nord de l'Asie et celui de l'Europe, et, depuis les frontières de la Chine, s'étend l'espace de quinze cents lieues jusqu'aux confins de la Pologne et de la Suède. Mais ce pays immense était à peine connu de l'Europe avant le czar Pierre. Les Moscovites étaient moins civilisés que les Mexicains quand ils furent découverts par Cortès; nés tous esclaves de maîtres aussi barbares qu'eux, ils croupissaient dans l'ignorance, dans le besoin de tous les arts, et dans l'insensibilité de ces besoins, qui étouffait toute industrie.[33]

Russia, of course, was an ideal candidate for demi-Orientalization, inasmuch as it was, geographically speaking, half in Asia. At the same time it offered a perfect model for the emerging concept of "Eastern Europe," to the extent that it was half in Europe and at the same time "scarcely known to Europe." This apparent paradox—Europe unknown to Europe—clearly implied the existence of two Europes, one that actively "knew," and the other that existed to be known or unknown: in short, that waited to be "discovered," as Cortes discovered Mexico.

Discovery might seem to be something of a euphemism for the experience of the Mexicans, but the word indicated all the more emphatically the equation of power and knowledge for Voltaire, with the consequent equation of conquest and discovery. It was precisely thus that Voltaire himself could consummate the military and political achievements of Charles and Peter in Eastern Europe. The Russia that Voltaire discovered was

32 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 33.

33 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 44

"barbarous" and emphatically not "civilized," and these anthropological judgments emerged from a twisted logic that developed from sentence to sentence. Because of its geographical "embrace" and "immensity," Russia was "unknown" and "undiscovered." Because it was unknown and undiscovered, it was therefore barbarous and uncivilized. This sophistry hinged on reciprocal readings of the verb "connaître": as long as the Russians were unknown, "à peine connu," they were also unknowing, ignorant. That their "insensibilité" extended even to an ignorance of their own needs and lacks, suggested that by virtue of being "unknown to Europe," they were necessarily unknown to themselves as well. They could only wait for a conquistador Cortes—or a philosopher Voltaire—to discover them, bring them to the attention of civilization, and thus to civilization itself. Voltaire took for granted that the idea of Eastern Europe could only be constructed from without.

This introduction, passing from geography to the anthropology of a barbarous people, resembled the paragraphs that presented the Swedes as a horde of warrior Goths. The crucial difference between the two accounts of Sweden and Russia was in what followed the introduction. In the one case Gothic prehistory was overlaid by centuries of conventional history, albeit in abridgment; in the other case the anthropological discussion of a barbaric people was no prehistorical preface but the essential account of Russia as it existed "avant le czar Pierre," up until the eighteenth century. For Russia there was no "abridged history," indeed no history at all, and the verb *croupir*—"ils croupissaient dans l'ignorance"—summed up the stagnation in which ahistorical anthropology prevailed over the chronology of civilization. The tense of the verb was neither the immediate present nor the definite preterit past, but the iterative imperfect, giving a sense of the continuous centuries of stagnation—until Peter. Thus, in the absence of history, the account of unchanging barbarism had to be narrated in the form of "particularités très curieuses."

These curiosities were for the most part matters of religion, a lifelong object of hatred and ridicule for Voltaire. Russian Greek Christianity, he explained, was "mêlée de superstitions, auxquelles ils étaient d'autant plus fortement attachés qu'elles étaient plus extravagant, et que le joug en était plus gênant."[34] He observed that Russians did not eat pigeons, since the Holy Ghost was represented as a dove. He noted the great theological controversy over making the sign of the cross with two fingers or three. Above all, he emphasized the extreme power and preeminience of the patriarch before whom "le peuple se prosternait dans les rues comme les Tartares

[34] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 45.

devant leur grand lama."[35] In fact, the spirit of these observations was not far at all from remarks about Catholicism closer to home that abound in the writings of Voltaire. In the Russian case, religion and superstition were added to the particular amalgam under construction: geography, ignorance, barbarism, superstition. Thus the Russian character found its place on Voltaire's table of populations, and the analogy to the Tatars formed a link to one of the spaces and species that remains to be defined and classified along the itinerary of Charles.

Once again Voltaire's biological intentions were evident in his careful attention to reproduction and demography.

La nation russe n'est pas nombreuse, quoique les femmes y soient fécondes et les hommes robustes. Pierre lui-même, en poliçant ses Etats, a malheureusement contribué à leur dépopulation. De fréquentes recrues dans des guerres longtemps malheureuses; des nations transplantés des bords de la mer Caspienne à ceux de la mer Baltique, consumées dans les travaux, détruites par les maladies, les trois quarts des enfants mourant en Moscovie de la petite vérole, plus dangereuse en ces climats qu'ailleurs; enfin les tristes suites d'un gouvernement longtemps sauvage et barbare, même dans sa police, sont cause que cette grande partie du continent a encore de vastes déserts.[36]

Here in Russia Voltaire discovered the very same robust men and the very same fecund women he had left behind in Sweden. Depopulation was the consequence of savage and barbaric government, and the cause of desert wilderness. Thus the integration of character was complete for the Russian case: it began with geography, building through ignorance and superstition to a barbarism of customs and institutions, which then in turn reinforced the conditioning geographical factors by the creation of *déserts*. Geography, demography, anthropology, religion, and government fit together so neatly as to exclude the movement of history. This construction even had a specific designation: "la nation russe." Peter's experiments in the transplanting of population further suggested that the Russian nation functioned as a unit of species reproduction, while the parameters of transplantation—from the Caspian to the Baltic—precisely defined the eastern longitudinal border of Europe. Voltaire made explicit reference to "cette grande partie du continent," allowing for a division of Europe, and with the one word "encore" demonstrated his assumption of relative backwardness. It was the backwardness of people locked into a two-dimensional table of classification, defined by the interlocking aspects of geography, demography, anthropology, religion, and government, and unable to escape into the depth of history.

35 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 45.
36 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 49.

The *argument* that headed the second book noted that Charles, after defeating the Muscovites, now "passes" into Poland. The heading therefore promised a "description de la Pologne et de son gouvernement."[37] As in the case of Russia, Poland, too, was summed up by Voltaire without recourse to conventional history, and here again geography and demography served as the points of departure: "La Pologne, cette partie de l'ancienne Sarmatie, est un peu plus grande que la France, moins peuplée qu'elle, mais plus que la Suède."[38] The casual simultaneous comparison to both Sweden and France seemed to suggest that Poland was neither of the north, nor of the west, but when Voltaire actually located Poland on a map, it turned out to be an anachronistic map of ancient empires. Just as the Swedes were identified as Goths, so the Poles were Sarmatians—but without the intervening centuries of history that could preserve a clear distinction between ancient Sarmatia and eighteenth-century Poland. Instead of an abridged history, but also instead of curious particularities of barbaric superstition, Poland was identified by Voltaire in a description of its government. This description was entirely ahistorical inasmuch as it eschewed all proper names and all particular centuries. Poland's unique dual aspect as republic and monarchy was explained as a fossilized anthropological survival: "Son gouvernement est la plus fidèle image de l'ancien gouvernement celte et gothique, corrigé ou altéré partout ailleurs."[39] The ancient past, Gothic and Sarmatian, still existed in the present, untouched by history, something that Charles and Voltaire encountered and discovered in eighteenth-century Poland. The force of history was precisely that process of correction and alteration that functioned "everywhere else."

If geographically Poland was to be found on a map of ancient Sarmatia, while politically its institutions were faithful images of Gothic and Celtic models, then Voltaire's classificatory system demanded a similar equation with regard to the population itself. Population had to be the link between geography and custom, making possible an integrated ahistorical character. Sure enough, when Voltaire closely examined Poland's government it turned out that the Sejm, the central parliamentary body of Poland's republican constitution, was being manned by Sarmatians: "Les députés y décident souvent leurs affaires le sabre à la main, comme les anciens Sarmates, dont ils sont descendus, et quelquefois même au milieu de l'ivresse,

[37] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 53.
[38] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 68.
[39] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 69.

vice que les Sarmates ignoraient."[40] In the first part of the sentence Voltaire at least scrupled to preserve the plausible form of simile and the modest assertion of descent, but by inventing and emphasizing a tiny distinction between tippling Poles and sober Sarmatians he managed to imply that they really were identical in all important respects.

That identity of character lay in their bellicosity, and Voltaire reemphasized this when he came to discuss the Polish army. He was again prepared to make certain linkages across the table of eastern lands, observing in the magnificence of the cavalry "la manière des Turcs," while finding that the much less impressive infantry resembled "des Tartares vagabonds."[41] The crucial military analysis, however, explained the Poles not in terms of their eastern neighbors but in terms of their ancient ancestors:

> On voit encore dans les soldats polonais le caractère des anciens Sarmates, leur ancêtres: aussi peu de discipline, la même fureur à attaquer, la même promptitude à fuir et à revenir au combat, le même acharnement dans le carnage quand ils sont vainqueurs.[42]

Here the distinction between discipline and fury seemed to reflect that between civilization and barbarism, but there was no visible distinction at all between ancient mythology and contemporary Polish warfare. It was an identity evident to the eye of the analyst—"on voit"—and yielded that classificatory "caractère" employed by Voltaire to organize a table of nations in defiance of history.

In the fourth book, according to the *argument*, Charles "s'enfonce dans l'Ukraine,"and, with this verb of descent, submergence, and penetration, Voltaire's hero discovered unfamiliar eastern depths to the continent of Europe.[43] In fact, Charles's road through Ukraine to defeat at Poltava took him to the south as well as the east, thus shattering the anachronistic classification of "pays septentrionaux" with which Voltaire began his study. The *enfoncement* of Charles, however, had more than a longitudinal sense, for the depths of his descent suggested levels of civilization, and the possibility of moving from one level to another across the same map of Europe. Indeed such distinctions appeared within Ukraine itself, which by its vast geographical extent and undeniable cartographical centrality bridged north and south, and thus made the idea of Eastern Europe inevitable.

40 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 70.
41 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 72.
42 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p 72.
43 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 118.

Voltaire's geographical and ethnological introduction of Ukraine focused immediately on this issue of centrality: "l'Ukraine, pays des Cosaques, situé entre la Petite-Tartarie, la Pologne et la Moscovie."[44] The two latter northern terms of this table had already been analyzed in the first two books, while Tartary remained to be discovered and identified in the fifth. Voltaire next offered the measurements of Ukraine, from south to north, from east to west, and observed that it was partitioned by the Dnieper River—"le Borysthène"—flowing from northwest to southeast. This divided Ukraine into two parts: "la partie la plus septentrionale" and "la plus meridionale."[45] The somewhat arbitrary decision to take a river flowing northwest to southeast, and present its banks as north and south (rather than west and east), underlined the crucial bridging function of Ukraine in Voltaire's construction of Eastern Europe. For Ukraine was irrevocably eastern, whatever its subdivisons, and its position between north and south was much more analytically interesting.

When it came to anthropology, Voltaire again stressed centrality, contrasting the cultivated "northern" Ukraine to its counterpart: "Les habitants de ces cantons, voisins de la Petite-Tartarie, ne semaient, ni ne plantaient, parce que les Tartares de Budziack, ceux de Précop, les Moldaves, tous peuples brigands, auraient ravagé leur moissons."[46] This observation on the agricultural consequences of living among eastern peoples was immediately followed by another on the political consequences of living among eastern states: "L'Ukraine a toujours aspiré à être libre; mais, étant entourée de la Moscovie, des Etats du Grand Seigneur, et de la Pologne, il lui a fallu chercher un protecteur, et par conséquent un maître dans l'un de ces trois Etats."[47] Economic backwardness and political subjection were thus drawn as consequences of a central geographical location—"l'Ukraine entourée"—in Eastern Europe.

Voltaire's interdependent identification of Ukraine—in terms of the neighboring lands and populations—fits Foucault's formulation of eighteenth-century epistemology.

> All designation must be accomplished by means of a certain relation to all other possible designations. To know what properly appertains to one individual is to have before one the classification—or the possibility of classifying—all others.[48]

Adjoining lands on the map were thus also, for Voltaire, interrelated species

44 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 123.
45 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 123.
46 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 124.
47 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 124.
48 Foucault, *Order of Things*, p. 144.

aligned on the tabular generic representation of Eastern Europe. Considering the Linnaean tables of classification, one may better appreciate Voltaire's virtual dependence on adjacent spaces for the purpose of locating and identifying Ukraine. Nevertheless, when it came to designating the population, eighteenth-century classificatory concerns actually enabled Voltaire to anticipate the nineteenth-century national denomination: "les Ukrainiens."[49]

With Charles marching his troops across Ukraine in the middle of winter, neither he nor Voltaire could pause for anthropological study until they arrived at Poltava. There, at the "extremité orientale de l'Ukraine," Charles encountered the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and Voltaire described them:

> Ce terrain, est celui des Zaporaviens, le plus étrange peuple qui soit sur la terre: c'est un ramas d'anciens Russes, Polonais, et Tartares, faisant tous profession d'une espèce de christianisme et d'un brigandage semblable à celui des flibustiers. Ils élisent un chef, qu'ils déposent ou qu'ils égorgent souvent. Ils ne souffrent point de femmes chez eux, mais ils vont enlever tous les enfants à vingt et trente lieues à la ronde, et les élèvent dans leur moeurs.[50]

Here centrality took on a new twist, with Voltaire projecting this "strange people" backwards into the ancient past and locating them among the ancient Russians, Poles, and Tatars. This projection was far from problematic for Voltaire, inasmuch as he had found the Russians themselves only barely beginning to emerge from their barbaric prehistory, and the Poles still bearing the visible character of the ancient Sarmatians. At the geographical "extremity" of Europe one discovered an extremity of *moeurs*: the strangest people, the most primitive sort of Christian religion, the most primitive sort of pirate economy, the most primitive cutthroat political life.

Above all, one is struck by Voltaire's account of the reproductive mechanism; for here there were no fecund women, indeed no women at all. The tenuousness of this species, only identifiable as a cross between adjacent peoples, was evident in its inability to reproduce itself naturally. In fact, it would be unable to retain any species character whatsoever if its qualities and manners were not so utterly rudimentary and easy to transmit. To be sure, Voltaire found no history worth mentioning here, but, even at the most primitive level, he recognized the possession of *moeurs*. That word sums up the revolution in historiography Voltaire would eventually initiate, and there is irony in the fact that to begin to appreciate the historical significance of *moeurs*, he had to travel (with Charles) to a place where

49 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 124.
50 Voltaire, *Histoire*, pp. 129–30.

his eye could discern no trace of conventional history. While Voltaire found "curious particularities" in Russia, in Ukraine he found a more consummate "strangeness" of manners, and that observation, so clearly in the eye of the beholder, was relevant to Eastern Europe as a whole. The strangeness of the Zaporozhians was too clearly linked to Voltaire's conception of Ukraine in general, and Voltaire's Ukraine, with all its composite definitions, was inextricably related to all the eastern lands of Charles's itinerary.

The season of Charles's passage through Ukraine was no ordinary winter: "le mémorable hiver de 1709, plus terrible encore sur ces frontières de l'Europe que nous ne l'avons senti en France."[51] Voltaire thus explicitly labeled the "frontiers of Europe," obviously the eastern frontier, and set it up in opposition to France, including himself, first person plural. Voltaire was fifteen years old in 1709, and no doubt remembered a truly memorable winter. The same cold that he had experienced, however, was the manifestation of a continental climatic condition embracing all of Europe, even those very strange people who lived along the Dnieper. To reach such a place, physically like Charles or imaginatively like Voltaire, required no small effort, and yet the paradox of constructing Eastern Europe was in the reconciliation of its impossible distance and its geographical connection. The Orient might be essentially "other, " but Eastern Europe, for all its strangeness, could not be thus excluded in absolute dissociation.

In fact, the great obstacle between Voltaire and Eastern Europe was that same cultural ignorance he sought to banish by enlightened analysis. Charles in Ukraine had to make his way through "ce pays inconnu," but twenty years later Voltaire, with energetic research, a vivid imagination, and a quick pen, was rendering it known.[52] Indeed the triumph of his imagination was the capacity, as in the case of Russia, to translate his own ignorance into that of his subject: the Russians were unknown to Europe, and therefore knew nothing. In the case of Charles and Ukraine, Voltaire operated this reversal even more brazenly with a different verb: "Charles avançait dans ces pays perdus, incertain de sa route."[53] Clearly, if Charles was uncertain of the route, then he was the one who was lost, but by a simple twist of the pen it was the lands themselves that became lost, the lost lands of Eastern Europe. They were unknown to Europe, because they were lost to Europe. It was Voltaire's achievement, in assuming that his perspective was that of European civilization, to declare these lands lost, so

51 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 128.
52 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 126.
53 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 125.

that he might have the satisfaction of discovering them again, analyzing them, classifying them, and restoring them to Europe in their proper places.

The notion of lost lands was also relevant to the next and last stage of Charles's journey across the continent, his flight to the south after the disastrous defeat by Peter at Poltava. Having begun at the Baltic, Charles now approached the Black Sea, completing his traversal of the European frontier. The southern nature of this passage confirmed the joining of north and south that made his itinerary, taken as a whole, an eastern one: "Le sable aride du désert rendait la chaleur du soleil plus insupportable."[54] Voltaire even specified the precise latitudinal degree. Charles's southern destination, however, was the north shore of the Black Sea, where ancient Greek civilization had once taken hold, lands now "lost" to barbarism: "Après cinq jours de marche, il se trouva sur le rivage du fleuve Hypanis, aujourd'hui nommé le Bog par les barbares, qui ont défiguré jusqu'au nom de ces pays, que des colonies grecques firent fleurir autrefois."[55] Thus, a process of "disfigurement" marked the transition from civilization to barbarism, and by recognizing the translation of names it became possible for civilization to rediscover these lost lands. The proper naming of species was, of course, essential to Linnaean classification in natural history.

As an honored guest and de facto prisoner of the sultan, Charles was allowed to establish his camp at Bender, on the Dniester River, perfectly poised between the European lands of the Ottoman Empire (the Danubian principalities, the Balkans) and the semi-autonomous lands of the Crimean Tatars. He was, in effect, a Turkish prisoner "parmi des Tartares."[56] It was thus with a description of "la Petite-Tartarie" that Voltaire completed his survey of the European frontier. He could hardly have omitted the Tatars, since he had already exploited them analytically in constructing his composite identification of the Cossacks in Ukraine. Now he began with the ruling *kan* of the Crimea:

Ce prince gouverne le Nagaï, le Budziack, avec une partie de la Circassie, et toute la Crimée, province connue dans l'antiquité sous le nom de Chesonèse Taurique, où les Grecs portèrent leur commerce et leurs armes, et fondèrent de puissantes villes, et où les Génois pénétrèrent depuis, lorsqu'ils étaient les maîtres du commerce de l'Europe. On voit en ce pays de ruines des villes grecques, et quelques monuments de Génois, qui subsistent encore au milieu de la désolation et de la barbarie. . . .

Les Tartares, leurs sujets, sont les peuples les plus brigands de la terre, et en même temps, ce qui semble inconcevable, les plus hospitaliers. . . . Les Scythes, leurs ancêtres, leur ont transmis ce respect inviolable pour l'hospitalité, parce que le

[54] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 139.
[55] Voltaire, *Histoire*.
[56] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 146.

peu d'étrangers qui voyagent chez eux et le bas prix de toutes les denrées ne leur rendent point cette vertu trop onéreuse.[57]

Here again Voltaire indulged his classificatory concern by correlating names, while contrasting commerce and civilization with brigandage and barbarism. The Tatars were allowed by Voltaire no connection whatsoever to the Greeks and Genoese who once "penetrated" these lands; their ruins and monuments constituted only archaeological obtrusions on the "desolate" landscape.

This dissociation of Tatars and Greeks was emphasized by assigning to the Tatars ancient ancestors of their own, the Scythians. This Scythian association served to define the Tatars much as the Sarmatians defined the Poles, even making possible the direct "transmission" of character. At the same time, by identifying "hospitality" as one such characteristic, Voltaire not only explained the friendly reception of Charles, but also suggested to his readers the welcome that European civilization might find in rediscovering lands that the Genoese, in fact, had penetrated not so long before. The construction of Scythian-Tatar primitive hospitality points to the ethos of cultural imperialism that informed all Voltaire's writing about Eastern Europe.

Charles's camp at Bender, "among the Tatars," also allowed him access to southeastern Danubian and Balkan Europe. In 1711 he rode into Moldavia, too late to stop the Turkish vizier from allowing Peter to retire from the Pruth. In 1713 the Ottoman government transferred Charles to Thrace, to the town of Demotica near Adrianople. This put Charles within several hundred miles of Constantinople, but he never reached the Ottoman capital, and neither did Voltaire complete his survey of Eastern Europe with any summary identification of the Turks analogous to those of the Tatars, Ukrainians, Poles, and Russians. In fact, Voltaire's less purposefully focused remarks on Turkey—with much emphasis on the "intrigues du sérail"—suggest that he knew it opened up a quite distinct, though related, field of study: the Orient. Constantinople was where Europe ended and Asia began. Charles completed his tour of Eastern Europe at Demotica, and set out from there to return to Sweden in 1714. During the year he spent at Demotica, he was almost as close as he could be to the spectacular beginning of the Orient at Constantinople, while at the same time paradoxically in the most profound unknown *enfoncement* of southeastern Europe.

57 Voltaire, *Histoire*, pp. 157–58.

Il avait été onze mois à Démotica, enseveli dans l'inaction et dans l'oubli. . . . On le croyait mort dans toute l'Europe.[58]

Yet, he could not have been thought dead in *all* of Europe, for he himself was still *in* Europe, albeit on the frontier. Once again Voltaire revealed his implicit assumption of two parts of Europe, and Charles had become oddly absorbed into that part through which he had traveled for so long: "enseveli dans l'inaction et dans l'oubli." From the construction of the sentence, it is difficult to tell whether these words were being applied to Charles or to Demotica itself. For the phrase perfectly fit the lands of Eastern Europe that Charles and Voltaire discovered in the course of their military and philosophical journeying, unknown lands, lost lands, lands that were buried and forgotten.

* * *

This interpretation of the *Histoire de Charles XII*, as a survey of the lands and peoples of Eastern Europe, may help to resolve some of the methodological controversy surrounding the work by emphasizing important similarities to Voltaire's later historiographical innovations. His ahistorical attention to society and *moeurs* in this early work, in cases where conventionally chronicled history seemed unworthy of abridgment, or even of mention, pointed naturally towards the reformation of conventional history altogether, that is, in the direction of a new social history of manners. Such a reading, however, suggests a reconception of the central interpretive controversy about the hero as military adventurer. Having followed Charles through Eastern Europe, and exploited him as a guide to these lands, the reader may then work backwards from the descriptive table of populations to the significance of the hero who encountered them.

When Voltaire defined the "caractère" of the ancient Sarmatians still evident in the Polish soldiers of the eighteenth century, he began with "aussi peu de discipline."[59] This lack of discipline seemed to govern and determine the other transmitted military characteristics that followed: the same fury in attack, the same raging carnage. The concept of discipline has been proposed by Michel Foucault as the key to understanding eighteenth-century issues of power. Discipline, for Foucault, is "a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures."[60] Power could be expressed and applied far more effectively as techniques of discipline rather than as acts of violence, and the furious

[58] Voltaire, *Histoire*, pp. 202–203.
[59] Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 72.
[60] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translation of *Surveillir et punir* by Alan Sheridan (1975; rpt'd. New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 215.

carnage of the Polish Sarmatians went hand-in-hand with the absence of that discipline. Voltaire began with the same word in another account of the Polish army: "La discipline, la subordination, l'expérience, lui manquent."[61] In fact, if one were to consider a concordance to the *Histoire de Charles XII*, one would discover a recurrence of the word "discipline" such as to suggest it was extremely important to Voltaire. Furthermore, its contexts suggest that all the populations of Eastern Europe, like the Poles, were essentially characterized by this lack of discipline, the incapacity to understand and apply its techniques and procedures—while Charles conquered precisely because he understood them.

After his victory at Narva in 1700, the ignorant and superstitious Russians believed they had been defeated because the Swedes were "vrais magiciens."[62] The enlightened Voltaire explained the outcome thus: "Les Russes sont robustes, infatigables, peut-être aussi courageux que les Suédois; mais c'est au temps à aguerrir les troupes, et à la discipline à les rendre invincibles."[63] Thus discipline was the key to victory, and Voltaire's interest in Charles's military glory may be more plausibly explained in terms of other eighteenth-century values. At the same time, the critical debate over Voltaire's comparative valuations of Charles and Peter may be partly resolved in appreciating that they illustrated related aspects of the same disciplinary problem: that is, the domination of peoples without discipline. Peter could make himself a match for Charles only to the extent that he could discipline his own soldiers: "Pour lui, non seulement il commençait à être grand homme de guerre, mais même a montrer l'art à ses Moscovites: la discipline s'établissait dans ses troupes."[64] The idea of discipline as an "art" perfectly fits Foucault's conception, while the imperfect tense in which discipline was "established" again matches the idea of "an uninterrupted, constant coercion, supervising the processes of the activity rather than its result"—a continuous discipline in contrast to discrete acts of violence.[65] After retaking Narva in 1704 Peter experienced the tenuousness of his disciplinary hold; his soldiers raped, pillaged, and slaughtered, abandoning themselves to terrible "barbaries," while "le czar courait de tous côtés pour arrêter le désordre et le massacre."[66] Here Peter's disciplinary techniques were insufficient to maintain control over barbarous men, and the implied opposition between discipline and barbarism suggests that for

61 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 71.
62 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 65.
63 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 60.
64 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 97.
65 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 137.
66 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 97.

Voltaire discipline was aligned not only with order, but also with civilization itself.

In fact, the issue of discipline could also serve Voltaire as a means of classification in establishing that hierarchy of civilization implicit in the distinction between Western and Eastern Europe. Peter's problem with the Russian cavalry was comparatively evaluated:

> La cavalerie était à peu près ce qu'est la cavalerie polonaise, et ce qu'était autrefois la française, quand le royaume de France n'était qu'un asssemblage de fiefs. Les gentilshommes russes montaient à cheval à leurs dépens, et combattaient sans discipline. . . .[67]

Not only were Poland and Russia associated in opposition to contemporary France, but their historical backwardness, their lack of conventional history, was rendered definitive in the comparison to feudal France. At the same time, the assignment of Poland and Russia to a particular past stage in French history also implied the undeniable connection between the two parts of Europe. Thus backwardness also assumed a certain concept of development that might alleviate the asymmetrical imbalance between the two parts of Europe. The agent of this development was discipline. Cavalry was a particularly apt subject for comparison, inasmuch as it required a double discipline, that of the horses as well as that of the soldiers.

Like Charles and Peter, the other figures of authority who appeared in the book were also characterized by Voltaire in terms of their disciplinary talents and interests. Stanislas, made king of Poland by Charles, could aspire to power for precisely this reason: "la discipline de ses troupes, qui faisait mieux sentir la barbarie des Moscovites."[68] Mazepa, Charles's ally in Ukraine, was represented as thoroughly aware of the issue of discipline.

> Un jour, étant à table à Moscou avec le czar, cet empereur lui proposa de discipliner les Cosaques, et de rendre ces peuples plus dépendants. Mazeppa répondit que la situation de l'Ukraine et le génie de cette nation étaient des obstacles insurmontables. Le czar, qui commençait à être échaufé par le vin, et qui ne commandait pas toujours à sa colère, l'appela traître, et le menaça de le faire empaler.[69]

Peter's own inadequate sense of discipline—from drunken anger to the threat of impalement—linked him to the Cossacks whose lack of discipline he proposed to remedy. What Mazepa (and Voltaire) suggested here was that the population itself was not susceptible to discipline, indeed that that insusceptibility was inherent in both the geographical "situation" and the

67 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 48.
68 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 111.
69 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 124.

anthropological "génie." Resistance to discipline was thus offered as a classificatory character, and there may even have been a punning significance to the fact that Peter and Mazepa discussed this matter "à table."

The military and political heroes of the work thus emerge as aspiring masters of discipline, or rather, masters through discipline. Eastern Europe was the domain in which they sought mastery, and its populations the undisciplined human material upon which they sought to exercise their disciplinary techniques. Foucault's discipline takes"the body as object and target of power," and the disciplinary art of war or politics thus becomes the targeting of bodies *en masse*, of populations. The most advanced discipline, in theory, pays no regard to the particular characteristics of those bodies. "By the late eighteenth century," Foucault proposes, "the soldier has become something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body, the machine required can be constructed."[70] In the early eighteenth century, however, with a less fully developed concept of discipline, certain recalcitrant bodies might challenge even the most dedicated disciplinarian, and the "génie" of a nation might even constitute an insurmountable obstacle. The most daunting obstacle, however, also becomes the most heroic challenge. Thus the greatness of Charles and Peter lay in the domain of their disciplinary efforts. In the decisive contest between the two of them, at Poltava, one finds Charles "avec toutes ses troupes de Zaporaviens, de Cosaques, de Valaques, qui joints à ses dix-huit mille Suédois, faisaient une armée d'environ trente mille hommes, mais une armée délabrée, manquant de tout."[71] Voltaire did not enumerate precisely what was lacking, but one wonders whether here again discipline might have headed the list, for simple arithmetic reveals an army of twelve thousand "barbarians" of the frontier, 40 percent of the total. In fact, one could argue that Poltava was the point at which Charles overreached himself not only as conqueror, but also as master of discipline.

Discipline, however, possesses a dual sense in Foucault, for the techniques of power imply also a science of techniques. Systematic power depends on systematic knowledge, and political and military "discipline" is thus inseparable from the plural academic and scientific "disciplines." In this latter sense, one may recognize Voltaire as every bit the equal of Charles in the disciplinary mastering of Eastern Europe. For it was the philosopher who systematized intellectually the very populations that Charles tried and failed to dominate militarily. Foucault does not hesitate to specify

70 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 135.
71 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 130.

the characteristic form of eighteenth-century academic discipline:

> The first of the great operations of discipline is, therefore, the constitution of *tableaux vivants*, which transform the confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities. The drawing up of "tables" was one of the great problems of the scientific, political and economic technology of the eighteenth century: how one was to arrange botanical and zoological gardens, and construct at the same time rational classifications of living beings.[72]

This was precisely what Voltaire accomplished in the *Histoire de Charles XII*: the ordering of "dangerous multitudes," based on the "rational classifications of living beings." The multitudes of beings were the populations of the European eastern frontier, and the analytic process of ordering and classifying constituted the intellectual construction of Eastern Europe.

Foucault explains the disciplines as "general formulas of domination."[73] The Orientalism that Said describes may be understood as one such set of formulas, indispensable to Occidental domination. The eighteenth-century analysis of Europe itself into East and West, the rotation of the Renaissance axis of civilization, required another set of formulas for a different but related domination. In the *Histoire de Charles XII* Voltaire began to move that axis by articulating those formulas. In fact, Voltaire allowed himself a moment of Oriental fantasy along with Charles when, in 1707, at the peak of his military success, the Swedish king dreamed that like Alexander he might "renverser l'empire des Persans et des Turcs."[74] He even sent agents to Asia and to Egypt to reconnoiter. If such a campaign had been possible, Voltaire might well have followed his hero in a work of consummate Orientalism. Charles, however, found himself on a different course, and Voltaire's enlightened accompaniment contributed fundamentally to constructing a hierarchy of civilization within Europe itself. "I have shown here a general survey of the system of natural bodies," wrote Linnaeus in the *Systema Naturae*, "so that the curious reader with the help of this, as it were, geographical table knows where to direct his journey in these vast kingdoms."[75] Voltaire offered a similar opportunity to readers who might want to journey in kingdoms other than the animal, vegetable, and mineral. The systematic table he composed, however, was an expression of analytic power and cultural domination. The curious readers and armchair travelers of the *ancien régime* in Western Europe confidently defined their own level of enlightened civilization when they imagined Eastern Europe with Voltaire as their guide.

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72 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 148.
73 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 137.
74 Voltaire, *Histoire*, p. 115.
75 Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae*, p. 19.